AUG2987
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
TN S J UJ891 60
JOHNSON CITY TN
3ЭЦЧ
ЭДЭ
ЭЦЭ

The Nation.

December 6, 1986 $1.25; U.K. 85p

DEC

EDITORIAL

FALLING IN LOVE AGAIN

Whether or not the anticipated cease-fire between President Corazon Aquino and the New People's Army holds, one thing is clear. The New Armed Forces of the Philippines have emerged from the chaos of the past month as the pre-eminent arbiter of events, with an institutional power unmatched even in the Marcos years. And the price that Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos exacts is likely to include many of the demands made by former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

After nine months of the Aquino presidency, what began as theater on an epic scale is settling into the familiar contours of an American morality play. The cast of characters risks being stripped down to meet the requirements of a simon-pure conflict between "democracy" and "communism." The complex personality of the Philippine left and People Power will be made to appear one-dimensional, and Washington will renew its love affair with that enduring fantasy, "clean counterinsurgency." That fantasy originally took root in the Philippines. The Huk rebellion of the 1950s was the opening chapter of the modern counterinsurgency textbook, and it was in that conflict that Aquino's new Defense Minister, Rafael Ileto, won his spurs.

The Philippine military, as former Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus once commented, is "the most U.S.-oriented army in the world." Its West Point credentials, however, are the problem, not the solution. And the dismissal of Enrile, himself a Harvard man, no more solves the problem than the sacking of Lieut. Col. Oliver North sanitizes U.S. policy in Nicaragua. Cory Aquino's electoral mandate, as well as her personal inclinations, lie in the direction of democratic reform, not of clean counterinsurgency. The question is whether her chorus of backers in Washington can tell the difference.

CONTRA CONSCIENCE
Holly Burkhalter

AFTER REYKJAVIK
Tom Harkin
Greg Mitchell
Pam Solo
E.P. Thompson
Paul C. Warnke
and others

DEAD ALIVE
Sven Birkerts

YEHUDA AMICHAI
Mark Rudman

SITTING DOWN WITH SATAN

WHY IRAN PURSUED THE ARMS DEAL

DILIP HIRO

Just as U.S. planes were bombing Libya in mid-April in retribution for Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi's alleged sponsorship of terrorism, President Ronald Reagan's top officials were discussing a secret arms-for-hostages deal with Iran, which they had also designated a "terrorist state." On May 28, former national security adviser Robert McFarlane flew to Teheran on a plane loaded with U.S.-made weapons and spare parts. His four days of talks with low-level Iranian officials are now described as having been fruitless. However, during May and June, according to the Danish Seamen's Union, the Danish cargo ship Else-HT carried at least 3,600 tons of military materials, mainly U.S.-made, in four journeys between Eilat, Israel, and Bandar Abbas, Iran. On July 26, the Rev. Lawrence Jenco was released in Lebanon by the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad.

Apparently negotiations on the principle of arms for hostages were continuing. According to Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, the first President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, three days after the McFarlane trip two U.S. C-130 transport planes arrived in Iran from Clark Air Base in the Philippines carrying spare parts for the F-4, F-5 and F-14 fighters used by the Iranian Air Force. On November 2, David Jacobsen, director of the American University Hospital in Beirut, was released by the Islamic Jihad.

U.S. motives have been the object of the most intense scrutiny. But it takes two to talk. Why did Iranian leaders decide to converse with the "Great Satan"?

Iran has been at war with Iraq for six years. Its

(*Continued on Page 640*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

REAL LESSONS?

Cleveland

Because so little is being written about strategies for challenging deindustrialization, I hope Sid Plotkin and Bill Scheuerman's article on the Mon Valley will generate discussion ["Get Them Before They Get You," Oct. 4].

The authors are right when they call for "community economic security" as a theme for progressives, and economic democracy as an alternative to Reaganism. They are also right when they tie corporate investment to greater public control. But is it accurate to say that the lesson of the Mon Valley is that this control must be established "not when capital is about to flee but when its operations are profitable?" I'm afraid Plotkin and Scheuerman miss the point that the crisis of deindustrialization results from the collapse of capital-intensive manufacturing because of disinvestment.

The strategy the authors propose, which is tied to local government subsidies that insure corporate investment, may have been useful for the Mon Valley in the 1960s. That was the last time U.S. Steel made major investments in its seven Mon Valley steel mills. While investments in the region's heavy industrial sites have been made since then, the dominant feature of the industrial sector in the 1980s has been disinvestment through department and plant shutdowns. There has been scant corporate commitment to establishing new sites or modernizing old ones.

This pattern is not unique to the Mon Valley; it characterizes deindustrialization throughout the Midwest. For every Saturn-type opportunity that comes along, you can bet your bottom urban development dollar that the industrial heartland will have scores of shutdowns to face. Therefore, the battle to save our industrial base isn't so much for community policing of new investment in profitable facilities as it is for policing of historic investment in facilities that are being abandoned by capital. If there is a future for reindustrialization in this country it lies in protecting the longstanding commitment made to manufacturing. That will be the foundation on which to rebuild.

So what's the real lesson of the Mon Valley? "That communities can't rely on corporations to keep them alive" is certainly part of it. But that's not particular to the Mon Valley. Any town that's had a plant closing has learned that. What is particular to the Mon Valley is that communities can be organized to fight back and that they have the capacity to structure that fight into political institutions that bring hope to those demanding economic democracy. The Steel Valley Authority and its partner, the Pennsylvania Industrial Capital Fund, are institutional models for every desperate industrial community in the country that isn't counting on private enterprise to invest fresh billions.

This is not to reject Plotkin and Scheuerman's contribution to an overall strategy. Where investment is made, it should be tied down with an enforceable contract that insures a commitment to a community's employment and tax-base needs. Oakland's Plant Closures Project has already broken ground in this area. The Tri-State Conference on Steel's own Regional Reindustrialization Project has been promoting enforceable community contracts in its new coalitions in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Nation readers should focus on the ideological character of resistance to this demand. At every political level there is a traditional preference toward the rights of private enterprise when dealing with policing agencies—particularly when it comes to attracting investment. State and local governments, which for the most part have no industrial planning, are relying on, rather than resisting, "bidding wars" for new plants. They fear endangering their "business climate" with demands on potential investors who might reduce their unemployment statistics by a couple of digits.

Changing this mindset requires grass-roots organizing and a lively public debate. Few issues have had more impact on our country's foreign and domestic policy than the unrestricted capital flight and the resulting economic problems of the last ten years. Although plenty has been written on the impact, little has been said in favor of organizing against it. So, to Plotkin and Scheuerman, thanks again for your article. I'd like to see more of them. *Jim Benn*

PRAIRIE PROGRAMS

Edwardsville, Ill.

The agony on so many farms is a problem for all Americans. In his October 25 article, "Little Cell on the Prairie," Jay Walljasper suggests that this is a political problem that can be easily remedied with higher government price supports. Yet the drawback of such supports is not, as Walljasper says, merely that they would "cost consumers up to 4 percent more at the supermarket." If that were the trade-off the idea would be worthwhile. Rather, higher price supports would stimulate still greater production and would increase surpluses and deficiency payments, which will cost the government a record $25 billion this year.

Higher price supports can only accelerate the decreases in farm exports and make agricultural imports more attractive. Moreover, the higher the price supports, the more difficult it is to induce farmers to remove land from cultivation. It becomes necessary, as is now being proposed, to pay farmers not to plant. If the milk payment of 10 cents per pound is any indication, it will cost almost as much to pay farmers not to produce as it does to purchase their crops.

More beneficial would be a program that targets temporary assistance to smaller farmers in need, provided that such a program minimizes the incentives for otherwise viable farms to slip, however unintentionally, into categories that qualify for aid. This, together with a type of insurance program that would cover farmers against natural disasters and temporary declines in prices below their long-run equilibrium levels, would be less costly than current programs.

Robert E. Kohn
Daniel K. Biederman

'YOU COULD LOOK IT UP'

Boone, N.C.

In Douglas Crase's excellent essay on Marianne Moore's prose there is a reference to the "poet in a tricorn hat who once threw out the first ball of the season at Yankee Stadium" ["Quills From a Porcupine," Nov. 1]. I don't expect to see a sports column in *The Nation*, but I do expect the magazine to take sports as seriously as Moore did when the subject comes up. Moore may have thrown out that ball at Yankee Stadium, but her allegiance was always with the team that played in the borough where the Camperdown Elm is still located. And although he won an Olympic medal at a lower weight, Floyd Patterson will be remembered as the man who won the ***heavyweight*** championship twice, even if he fought like a middleweight against Sonny Liston. I think Moore would have preferred to have the details accurate and the emphasis where it belongs.

Leon Lewis

WASTEFUL TENSIONS

Columbia, N.J.

Thanks for Seth Zuckerman's fine analysis of the tension between national and grass-roots environmental groups ["Environmentalism Turns 16," Oct. 18]. It is incorrect, however, to describe the Radioactive Waste Campaign as having "concentrated on low-level waste from its inception." From the beginning, we also have fought the transport of extraordinarily toxic, high-level nuclear waste, helping cities all over the country pass transport bans. We have focused on the dangers of nuclear reprocessing facilities and Federal repositories for high-level waste.

We have separated from the Sierra Club not just for financial reasons, as we stated in Zuckerman's article. We wished to be free to take on all aspects of the military's nuclear waste problem, with an aggressiveness not possible in the club. We also preferred the decentralized decision-making of a grass-roots organization. However, we left the club amicably, with great respect for our former colleagues. *Minard Hamilton*
Director, Radioactive Waste Campaign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 243, Number 19

LETTERS
626

EDITORIALS
625 Falling in Love Again
627 The Cover-Up Begins
628 *Contra* Conscience — *Holly Burkhalter*
629 Two Cheers — *Robert Lekachman*
632 Scoop du Jour — *Edward Sorel*

COLUMNS
630 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*

ARTICLES
625 Sitting Down With Satan: Why Iran Pursued the Arms Deal — *Dilip Hiro*
633 Nine Views: What Happens After Reykjavik? *Marcus Raskin, Greg Mitchell, E.P. Thompson, Robert Karl Manoff, Paul C. Warnke, Tom Harkin, Pam Solo, David Cortright and Robert K. Musil, Sayre Sheldon*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
644 Demski: Dead Alive — *Sven Birkerts*
646 Bloch and Mitchell, eds.: Selected Poetry of Yehuda Amichai — *Mark Rudman*
648 Music — *Edward W. Said*

Drawings by Gordon Harris

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Editors,* George Black, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor (Copy),* Julie Abraham; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Vania Del Borgo, Judith Long; *Interns,* Gaspar Copado, Siddharth Dube, Brad Kessler, Sarah B. Perl, Katherine Schwartz (Washington), Nina Shapiro, Lydia Stryk, Ruth Yodaiken; *On leave,* Richard Lingeman, Maria Margaronis.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Fiction,* Terrence Rafferty; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers,* Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* Randall Cherry, Mitchel Cohen, Sandy McCroskey, Richard Snyder; *Nation Associates Director,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Phillip Frazer.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. Directors: Arthur Carter, Hamilton Fish 3rd, Victor Navasky. © 1986 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price:* One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $9 for postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

The Cover-Up Begins

The Reagan Administration's stunning admission of mismanagement, incompetence and perhaps criminality in the conduct of an incoherent and immoral foreign policy provides a dramatic climax to the first phase of the crisis that now grips Washington. At the same time it marks the beginning of the next one: the cover-up has begun. What did the President know of the complicated arms deal with Iran, and when did he know that the Israelis were depositing profits from arms sales in Nicaraguan *contra* accounts? If he did not know, why didn't he? And why was the nation's number-one *law-enforcement* official making the revelations anyway? In the course of a masterly, evasive attempt at damage control, Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d said Reagan was in the dark "because no one told him." Had the "junta" really taken charge, leaving the President a mere figurehead? Is he just stupid, and thus guilty of malfeasance; or is he stonewalling, and thus guilty of felonious disregard of Congress and a candidate for impeachment?

Reagan has been lying, misremembering and oversimplifying for years, without serious reproach. High-, middle- and low-level Administration officials have been fired,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forced to resign, prosecuted, indicted, imprisoned and rehabilitated in an unprecedented tide of impropriety (at last count, the record stood at 184 charged or investigated since 1981), without much tarnish accruing to the Reagan presidency. Others connected with the National Security Council have been forced out before Vice Adm. John Poindexter and Lieut. Col. Oliver North. It was not that no one knew about the sleaze but that no one cared, at least no one in the hegemonized media and the political mainstream.

The importance of the growing cloud now over the White House is that it has for the first time delegitimized the President's authority and opened the way for investigation, criticism and opposition. How and why this happens is one of the great mysteries of the political culture. Certainly the original arms deal wasn't so outrageous, as against the covert-turned-overt war in Central America, the sandbagging of nuclear disarmament or the extension of an effective alliance with the apartheid regime in South Africa—all of which have passed without much fuss. But what the deal showed about the Administration—its ineptitude, its hypocrisy and its dangerous deceptions—made all the difference in the projection of its authority.

"Iran" is becoming something like "Watergate," which is to say that it describes a pattern of political behavior that is under attack more than a particular project or policy. Such scandals have a cascade effect, much like the unforeseen train of events that multiply after a minor accident to cause some nuclear or ecological disaster. Reagan won't be brought down as easily as Nixon, but there are many layers of wrongdoing to peel away before the presidential image can be restored to its previous state.

It is already possible to see how the forces are lining up to improve their positions in the post-Iran picture. The Meese patrol, which has felt a bit left out of the glory in the past year, is using the crisis to subvert the reign of those Reagan advisers who think the world ends on January 20, 1989, when they are due to retire. The Bush battalion is obviously torn between the demands of loyalty and the wisdom of detachment; they are bound to choose the wrong direction. The Democrats are so excited at the sight of first blood that they have not settled on a consistent line of opposition or a theory of the crisis, and that failure may rob them of the advantage they should have when the cascade finally ends.

The greatest danger is that Reagan will do what he is best at, which is to divert attention from failure by making a dramatic gesture of the military kind—witness the Caribbean coup after the Lebanese loss. The Nicaraguans are on the alert, and no doubt Colonel Qaddafi is battening down for another assault. The holiday season is the traditional time for blitzkriegs—remember the bombs that Nixon and Kissinger sent to Vietnam at Christmas in 1972 in lieu of peace negotiations. But what may save us, and Reagan's potential victims, from the fire this time is the paralysis that so far is the most beneficial effect of the trouble in the White House. If the warmakers are not fighting with one another, and the Commander in Chief himself is under siege, the world may have a short season of respite.

NEXT WEEK

William Tabb on Ivan Boesky

H. Laurence Ross and Graham Hughes on Drunk Driving

Contra Conscience

On October 24, President Reagan signed into law a $100 million aid package to the Nicaraguan *contras*. It includes $70 million in military assistance and $30 million in economic aid, of which $3 million is earmarked for "strengthening of programs and activities of the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance for the observance and advancement of human rights."

This is not the first time Congress tried to purchase improvements in the *contras'* human rights performance. In June 1985 the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) announced the creation of a human rights office and demanded $900,000 from Washington for its operations. The State Department blanched at the size of the request, and in the end provided approximately $175,000. In an interview published in *The New York Times* on August 23, 1985, UNO leader Arturo Cruz declared: "We are going to report on prisoners that are taken. We have to stop summary executions, whether among our own people for disciplinary reasons or among the enemy. The leadership of UNO has to go and discuss this with the commanders."

UNO's Commission on Human Rights, known as UNO/C.D.H., never fulfilled the role envisioned by Cruz. It produced lengthy testimony about Sandinista abuses but did little to investigate, prosecute or punish abuses by the *contras*. One particularly well-documented instance of *contra* abuse occurred on August 2, 1985, just after the creation of UNO/C.D.H. Ten disarmed Sandinista soldiers and a school watchman were abducted in front of dozens of people in the town of Cuapa and then murdered. The killings were reported in *The Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* and investigated on site by Americas Watch, a private human rights group which monitors both the Nicaraguan government and the *contras*. They were a clear breach of Geneva Conventions standards on the treatment of captured prisoners of war; and therefore presented a critical test case for UNO/C.D.H. The commission did not investigate the incident, much less take disciplinary action against those responsible. Six months after the massacre its staff had not even interviewed the *contra* officer who commanded the troops at Cuapa, a man known as Dumas. There was a grotesque postscript to the massacre: on November 6, 1985, President Reagan told Congress that the victims had been killed in a battle and that their corpses had been mutilated by the Sandinistas to substantiate a false charge of *contra* atrocities.

Since July Americas Watch has been asking the commission to provide information on *contra* violations of human

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rights that have been prosecuted and punished. UNO/C.D.H. provided a list prepared by Carlos Icaza, prosecutor for the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (F.D.N.), the main *contra* military faction. Icaza's report described fourteen cases of alleged human rights abuse that the F.D.N. had prosecuted. Ten were instances of *contra* offenses against other *contras*, and three were crimes relating to property, including armed theft and the sale of drugs. Only one case, involving the rape of two young girls, could be considered a violation of human rights. Not a single case of the killing, torture or kidnapping of civilians or captured Sandinista soldiers had been prosecuted.

Nonetheless, the Reagan Administration cited these fourteen cases in his November 1985 report to Congress, which required the President to report on "alleged human rights violations by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance . . . including a statement of the steps taken by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance to remove from their ranks any individuals who have engaged in human rights abuses." So far, no additional F.D.N. prosecutions or punishments in this area have been reported.

Although they had only one human rights case to show for it, UNO/C.D.H. managed to spend a full $175,000 of U.S. aid before the *contra* leadership shut down the office this summer. According to Senator Dave Durenberger, chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, F.D.N. commander Enrique Bermúdez closed UNO/C.D.H. in early August and refused to pay the employees $65,000 in back salary. A high-ranking *contra* official told *Time* in August that Bermúdez and UNO leader Adolfo Calero had made the decision. "They fail to understand the importance of it," he said. The infusion of $3 million for human rights activities has apparently straightened out the misunderstanding. UNO has now resurrected its human rights office and has appointed Marta Patricia Baltodano to head it. Baltodano had been associated with the anti-Sandinista Permanent Commission on Human Rights in Nicaragua. By providing UNO/C.D.H. with a face lift, she risks her reputation as a serious monitor of human rights.

The commission's performance in monitoring *contra* abuses, its failure to denounce violations when they occur and its near-complete inability to prosecute and punish *contra* offenders reflects the irrelevance of UNO's civilian leadership. Since the creation of UNO/C.D.H. *contra* abuses have proliferated. Noncombatants have been killed, roads that are heavily traveled by civilians have been mined, and captured soldiers have been executed. UNO/C.D.H.'s past performance gives little ground for optimism that with reorganization will come a serious effort to monitor and publicize *contra* abuses and prosecute those responsible. The lesson for Congress is that $3 million worth of ingenuously appropriated conscience money will neither buy effective monitoring of *contra* human rights abuses nor transform the practices of the *contras* and their commanders.

HOLLY BURKHALTER

Holly Burkhalter is the Washington representative of Americas Watch.

Two Cheers

Folks on the left devote much time and emotion to pointing with alarm, full-press deploring and all-out kvetching. Not that events in the past six years haven't widened the scope of opportunity for such exhibitions, but now and then we should take time out to salute our heroes, if only to cheer ourselves up. Two who have kept their faith, sanity and temper have just reminded us again that perseverance pays, that intelligence can vanquish organized greed and that good guys sometimes win. Ralph Nader's recently published *The Big Boys* (with co-authors William Taylor and Andrew Moore) is a path-breaking exploration of life at the summit of our corporate megalith, another of his examinations of the anatomy of power in the land of the moderately free and the home of the occasionally brave. That it has received scant attention and unfriendly reviews, mostly from Nader's opponents, testifies to the increasing conservatism of the mass media.

Nader's pursuit of product and environmental safety, Congressional reform and safeguards against workplace injuries has helped organize constituencies powerful enough to withstand and now terminate the Reagan revolution. As President Reagan said of Senator Jeremiah Denton: the man is a national treasure.

Then there is Michael Pertschuk, who as Federal Trade Commission chair under Jimmy Carter and as dissident-in-residence during Reagan's first three years in office, offended the cigarette, advertising, breakfast cereal and television industries. As he recalls in his amiable and highly instructive book, *Giantkillers*, it is possible for adroit public interest lobbyists to defeat corporate opponents at their own lavishly financed game, even when the political winds blow far right. Who would have thought that the mighty tobacco industry could be compelled to feature genuinely scary warnings on its advertisements? For radicals who operate at high levels of abstraction, Pertschuk is a guide to the way things get done in Washington. His new Washington Advocacy Institute aims to teach the ill-organized armies of the virtuous the skills of legislative persuasion. American politics is both more open and more volatile than radicals self-indulgently enveloped in gloom are usually prepared to admit.

Last month's electoral follies reaffirmed my heroes' points: money doesn't always buy power; Reagan is not invincible; good candidates can unseat bad incumbents. Nader, Pertschuk and their co-workers are major sources of the new ideas and new legislative vehicles for which a resurgent liberalism will soon, I hope, be clamoring. In the meantime, let's hear it for two authentic heroes of the left—Ralph Nader and Michael Pertschuk. Long may they continue to give fits to corporate America.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

Robert Lekachman's most recent book, Visions and Nightmares: America After Reagan *(Macmillan), will be published next spring.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

The Shit Hits the Fan

Critical mass in a scandal is achieved when half of the wild rumors turn out to be true, and people start giving the other half their undivided attention. This is when official denials have the same effect as matches on gasoline.

Up to the amazing Reagan/Meese press conference of November 25, the turmoil over the Administration's dealings with Iran had not yet spilled over to its Central American operations. In all the uproar over McFarlane's mission, scarce one of the clamant pundits and politicos bothered to point out that when it came to disdain for U.S. law, the record of Vice President Bush, Director of Central Intelligence Casey, Secretary of State Shultz and his equerry Elliott Abrams was already a matter of public knowledge, as were many of Lieut. Col. Oliver North's dealings with the *contras*. All of them have been deeply involved in the illegal supply of money and arms to the *contras*, despite a Congressional ban in the form of the Boland Amendment, not to mention the Neutrality Act and the Arms Export Control Act.

The mathematics of the illegalities have never been complicated. Military funding of the *contras* was illegal between November 1983 and April 1985, but the *contras* continued to operate militarily and obviously had the money to do so. For two years the press mostly solved this equation by speaking of "private" funding or of aid from other countries (generally unnamed but in fact Saudi Arabia and Israel). In short, the lawless behavior of the Administration—not just Poindexter, North and the so-called cowboys in the N.S.C.—has been evident for months.

Another indication of critical mass is that the press stops ignoring the obvious. This is why the present scandal has swollen so rapidly. The press had a lot of the obvious to catch up on.

Today it's the shady career of Oliver North that holds the attention of the press. But what of tomorrow? How about a detailed account of the dealings and influence of the Pentagon's Richard Perle and such associates as Stephen Bryen? When it comes to sagas of arms and technology transfers, there are years left in the story.

Until the Administration's dealings with Iran finally clambered into the headlines, just as the Democrats recaptured the Senate, the Reagan agenda on Central America was fairly clear: invasion some time in the spring of 1987, during the dry season, after some *pro forma* training of the *contras* and domestic political consensus achieved by a propaganda campaign around a Nicaraguan "provocation" requiring full-scale U.S. intervention by way of response. The "provocation" could be a Nicaraguan incursion into Honduras, a Soviet arms shipment or something along the lines of the Gulf of Sidra maneuver used with such success against Qaddafi last spring.

Amid an electronic Nuremberg rally for the domestic U.S. audience about the Nicaraguan threat, the long-planned assault would begin: air strikes, naval bombardment, helicopter raids, direct attack from Honduras and Costa Rica, declaration of a liberated zone of "free Nicaraguan territory" on the Atlantic Coast, speedy recognition of a provisional government, followed by assault on Managua. The U.S. military reckons it would take about a year to clean out armed Nicaraguan resistance, thus concluding the entire operation by the spring of 1988, leaving the Republicans to win on a "We Saved Nicaragua" platform in the elections. Especially if complemented with the boast, "We Toppled Qaddafi," this would set the tone of U.S. foreign policy for the rest of the century.

This schedule has now been disturbed. The scandal has a long way to run, first in the press and then in hearings when Congress reconvenes in the new year. Prolonged exposure in the press and in televised hearings of major *contra* illegalities—drug running and Administration connivance in these activities—could sufficiently alter the domestic political climate to annul the spring offensive against Nicaragua. One particular equation is especially easy to understand. The money derived from the sale of arms to one bunch of thugs in Iran has gone to buy arms for another bunch of thugs in Central America.

North and A.P.

The Administration has long been concerned about a possible *Contra*-gate, and one of the stories now swirling around is that it tried a particularly ugly manipulation of the Associated Press.

On March 16, 1985, the A.P.'s Middle East bureau chief, Terry Anderson, was kidnapped in Lebanon. He remains captive to this day. Later that year two A.P. reporters based in Washington, Robert Parry and Brian Barger, began investigating shady dealings by the *contras* and the activities of Oliver North. They amassed damning detail from a multiplicity of sources, including Federal officials indignant at what they perceived to be the Reagan Administration's complicity in drug trafficking by the *contras*. Finally, in mid-January of this year, A.P. distributed a Parry and Barger story about *contra* drug running into the United States.

But among those aware of Parry and Barger's researches, it was no secret that the two were frustrated by what they considered to be unwarranted and extraordinary caution exercised by their superiors at A.P., notably by the Washington bureau chief, Charles Lewis, otherwise known as Chuck. In fact, the story finally put on the wires on January 19 was a shrunken version of earlier drafts, having fallen victim to an editorial prudence that seemed inexplicable. Details were cut, names excised and the story finally put on the wires at the bottom of the news cycle.

While Parry and Barger were probing the *contras'* drug dealings and the Administration's part in such criminal activities, the White House—specifically, Oliver North—was in contact with their superiors at A.P. The suspicion grew that A.P. was having its arm twisted by North and that the subtext of the White House communications with A.P. was that the more diligent A.P.'s investigation of *contra* drug running and the Reagan gang's collusion in this, the less enthusiasm the Administration might have for working

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diligently for the release of Terry Anderson.

Of course, it would not necessarily have been inappropriate for any A.P. executive, including Lewis, to have discussed Anderson's situation with North, but as one person working in the Washington bureau at the time remarks: "Lewis insisted on editing the [Parry and Barger] stories while talking to North. That was a clear conflict of interest, and he should have been smart enough to step aside."

Chuck Lewis rebuts the suspicions in the strongest possible terms: "The hypothesis assumes that A.P. held back on *contra* coverage. Anyone who has read our wires would know this is ludicrous. The hypothesis also presumes that Ollie North leaned on A.P., and he didn't." Lewis then added, "I should say, he didn't lean on me." Did he lean on anyone else? "Not to my knowledge." Lewis did say that he had been in contact with North about Anderson, and confirmed that he had edited many of the Parry-Barger stories.

Walter Mears, A.P.'s executive editor in New York, told *The Nation* that he had talked to North on "half a dozen occasions" and that the Parry and Barger investigation never came up. "If North had said, Call off the dogs and Anderson will be back in New York tomorrow, I'd have taken Anderson over the story. Then when Anderson was back, I'd have reported the whole deal." Mears said he had done "some of the editing" of Parry and Barger, and that it had been tighter than usual, due to the stories' investigative nature.

More Shit, More Fans

The temper of Martin Peretz has presumably not been improved by the fall of his close business associate, Ivan Boesky. If God is all that Holy Scripture proclaims him to be—all-seeing, unforgiving—the S.E.C. would probe *The New Republic*, asking to see if its recent career had profited from insider manipulation.

I consider the fall of Boesky to be a benchmark signaling the demise of the Roaring Eighties and the vindication of the notions of Uncle Whiskers, *a k a* Karl Marx. Boesky, Goldsmith, Pickens, Icahn and others have flourished by takeover, greenmail, junk bonds, leveraged buyouts and the rest because their corporate targets have often had a stock price below the value of their fixed assets. Why has this been so? The stock prices have reflected the poor performance of these companies, consequent upon the falling rate of profit, which Uncle Whiskers reckoned to be prominent among the symptoms of capitalism's final slide toward the dustbin of h.

Contemplating Boesky, those with a mind for historical parallel may recall the fall of Clarence Hatry. Hatry was a British entrepreneur of the late 1920s, highly esteemed for his financial acumen. They said the same sorts of things about him that they later said about Boesky. He soared higher and higher. Then he tried to buy United Steel for £8 million sterling. His collateral turned out to be fraudulent. His fall, in September of 1929, led to the tightening of the British money market, the withdrawal of call loans from the New York market and, as an assisting fact, the topping out of the stock market and, in October 1929, the crash.

It would be gratifying if Sir James Goldsmith followed Boesky into the abyss. The admiration of the U.S. press for this ghastly character has been shameful. On November 21, *The Wall Street Journal* ran a fawning front-page article about him, by James Stewart and Philip Revzin. Having remarked on Goldsmith's baroque private life—spouses or spouse equivalents in every port—they lauded him, with a deferential smirk, as a "devoted family man" and printed without reservation Goldsmith's repellent claims to be a restorative force in the capitalist economy. They should talk to the hundreds of workers being laid off as a result of Goodyear's buyback strategy to beat off Goldsmith. One reason, unmentioned by *The Journal*, that Goldsmith may have given up on Goodyear is that he has a pathological aversion to rubber. One acquaintance chatting with him recently observed Goldsmith suddenly go rigid. "Pick it up," the tycoon hissed urgently. "Pick up what, Jimmy?" Goldsmith's bulging eyes swiveled down on the table, where the friend saw a rubber band. He dutifully removed it, and only then did Goldsmith relax.

The Nina and Bob Show

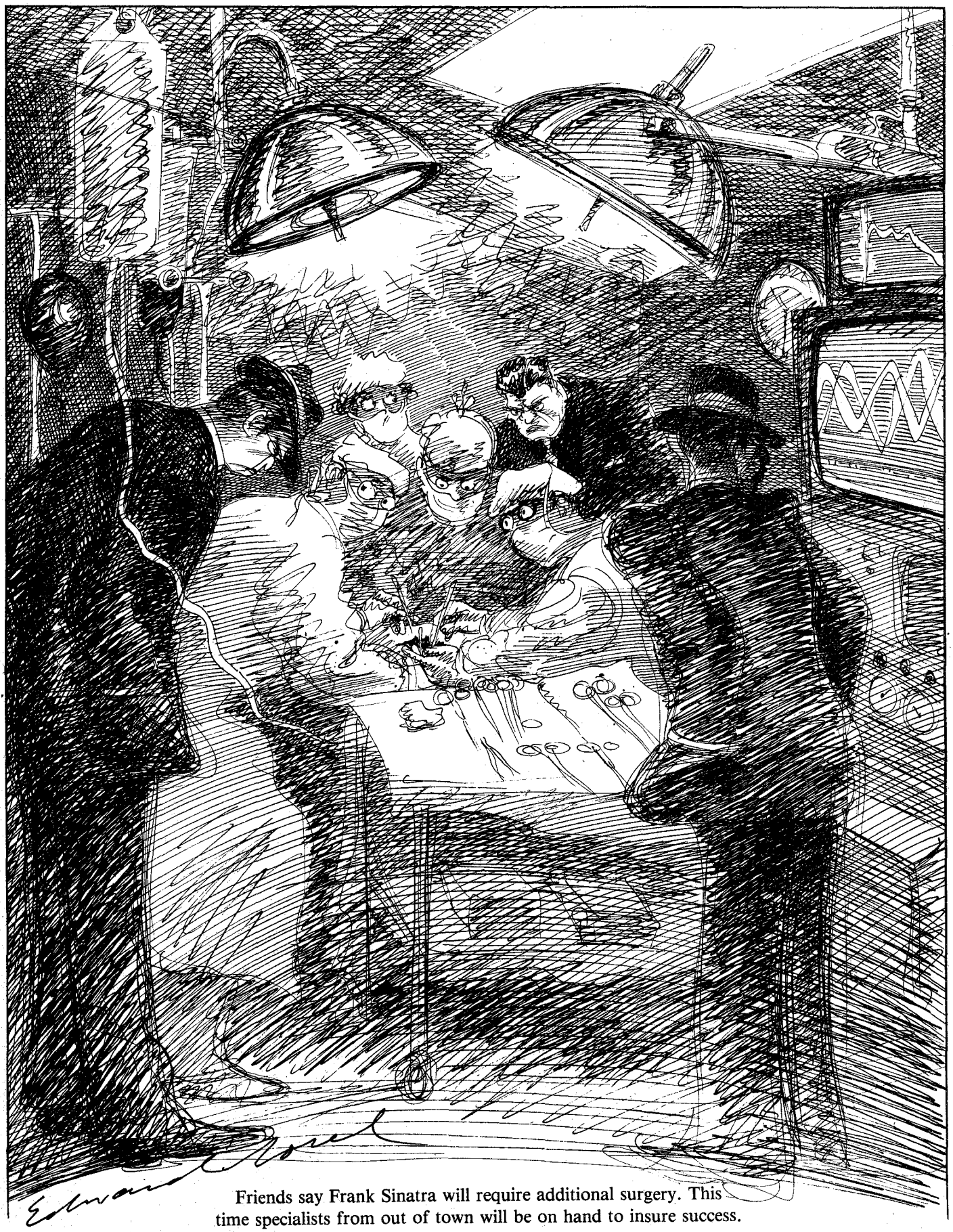
And lastly, still on the theme of news manipulation, a word about the International League for Human Rights, whose report on Nicaragua, issued in July, helped persuade Congress to vote for $100 million in aid to the *contras*. Readers may recall a lengthy discussion of its deceitful procedures in this column for September 13, charges to which the league offered no rebuttal. The Ford Foundation helps support the league, and by one account it became sufficiently exercised about the obvious political chicanery in the preparation of the Nicaragua report to demand that heads roll at the league or its funding would be cut. Certainly the foundation is about to decide whether to continue its financial grant to the league. For whatever reason, the league's program director, and part author of the report, Nina Shea, quit at about the time league officials were concerned about continued foundation support, and some at the league have expressed relief that she is gone. Her political sympathies may possibly be illustrated by her close relationship, now taking the form of holy matrimony, with Adam Meyerson, editor of the Heritage Foundation's *Policy Review*. Shea is now at the Puebla Institute, regarded by some as unwholesomely close to a certain agency of the U.S. government.

I used the words "part author" in connection with Shea because during the composition of the report Robert Leiken was on the telephone to her so frequently that a league official finally told Shea not to accept any further calls from him. Leiken may now be cutting back on his public appearances. The reason Robert Silvers says he has postponed running Tony Jenkins's long-awaited rebuttal to Leiken (much cut, on Silvers's insistence) in *The New York Review of Books* is that Leiken claims to be indisposed. Thus has *The New York Review* successfully headed off that challenge to Leiken for nearly five months. Has he been incapable of intellectual activity since July?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scoop du Jour

EDWARD SOREL



Friends say Frank Sinatra will require additional surgery. This time specialists from out of town will be on hand to insure success.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

NINE VIEWS

What Happens After Reykjavik?

At their meeting in Reykjavik, President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev talked about eliminating some or all of both U.S. and Soviet strategic weapons. Although the Reagan Administration has already begun to repudiate that position, the idea of nuclear disarmament has never been more urgent. The Nation *asked a small number of activists, experts and friends for their thoughts on how peace and antinuclear arms control organizations should respond to that opportunity.*

—The Editors

MARCUS RASKIN

Here are twelve suggestions for the peace movement in the aftermath of the Reykjavik meeting.

1. The peace movement should promulgate an alternative security plan aimed at common protection and general disarmament. Such a plan would, among other things, provide for new international institutions allied with the United Nations for peacekeeping and the settlement of disputes, and the inclusion in domestic law of standards establishing the responsibility of government officials for crimes of war and crimes against humanity.

2. It's time to state clearly that the United States can cut back its nuclear arsenal without diminishing its security.

3. The peace movement should stop playing the first-strike/second-strike game. All so-called second-strike weapons, such as the Trident 2, can be used for first-strike purposes: bombers can be used, albeit inefficiently, for a first strike; the Strategic Defense Initiative could facilitate a first strike.

4. The peace movement should force nuclear strategists who argue for first-strike scenarios, extended deterrence and other bleak fantasies, and who develop rationalizations for each new weapon as it is produced, to explain where they think their strategies are taking American society and the world.

5. The peace movement must blow the whistle on any attempt to use arms control as a means to build up conventional forces, which will only exacerbate tensions in Europe and increase the chances of U.S. military intervention in the Third World. Moreover, the peace movement should expose the myth of Soviet conventional superiority in Europe and show that disarmament will enhance stability and strengthen ties between East and West.

6. The peace movement must clearly emphasize the relationship between the economy and the arms race. The programs of Jobs With Peace and various West Coast groups, as well as economic conversion plans described in Seymour Melman's work and in Representative Ted Weiss's recent bill, should figure into any new industrial policy. The Administration's use of military Keynesianism to solve internal economic problems portends industrial disaster.

7. The Democratic Party's platform in 1988 should contain a peace plank that outlines commitment to the establishment of a new international security system by the year 2000—one not predicated on the potential destruction of the world or military intervention in smaller nations. The peace movement should begin now to organize for that battle inside the Democratic Party.

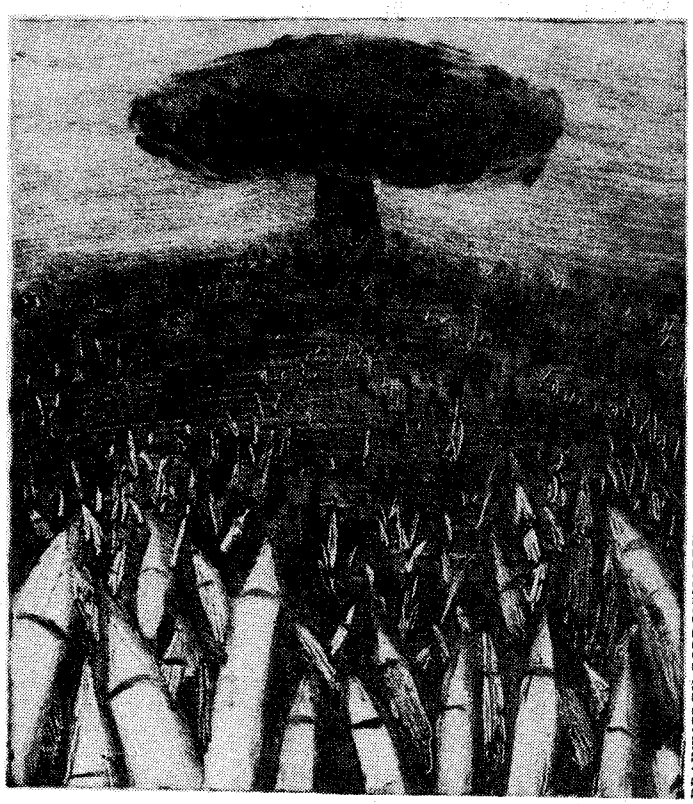
8. The peace movement should establish a formal caucus in Congress similar to the Congressional Black Caucus. Peace movement activists worked hard for sympathetic candidates this year. They should continue to do so, but they should ask for more in return.

9. The peace movement must organize mass demonstrations. In the past, the best way for activists to promote negotiations on arms control was to put a million people in the streets. However, governments have used negotiations to get the people off the streets. An active citizenry should no longer be quieted by such negotiations, which even if successful would not address the national security budget or the causes of the arms race. It should keep up the pressure.

10. The peace movement should support and participate in nonviolent protest that puts the establishment on trial.

11. The peace movement should generate more exchanges and joint projects between U.S. and Soviet scholars who are committed to international understanding and are unwilling to use knowledge for mass destruction.

12. The peace movement should defend the United Nations



DRAWINGS BY GORDON HARRIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the International Court of Justice, and should reach out to peace movements around the world, in order to trade information and coordinate strategies and goals.

Marcus Raskin is a co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies and a member of The Nation*'s editorial board.*

GREG MITCHELL

Never underestimate the antinuclear movement's desire to be "taken seriously." For a movement now based in Washington, that means gaining respect on Capitol Hill. But the number of arms controllers and Congress members who favor disarmament probably can be counted on two hands. The lobbyists and leaders of most antinuclear groups in Washington do not pursue respectability by promoting disarmament—that is, by taking a principled position outside the narrow parameters of traditional arms control. They are compromised even before they compromise. The MX? No problem; just don't build the entire allotment. Star Wars? Give the President $3 billion; just don't give him everything he asks for. Midgetman, Trident 2? We'll talk about it later.

That strategy helps the movement survive politically, but it does not further the cause of disarmament. And having staked out no strong position, the movement has grown dependent on its allies in Congress to provide leadership. For several weeks this fall, after the House passed five key arms control measures, that did not seem like such a bad idea. In conference, however, House Democrats caved in completely while the President headed for Reykjavik, where he and Gorbachev discussed steps far more radical than anything in the hastily discarded House bill. So much for Democratic leadership.

Has movement strategy changed, post-Reykjavik? At meetings of leaders of peace groups in Washington "abolition" continues to be a dirty word. Aides to some of the movement's closest allies in Congress tell me that in the next session liberal Democrats will not fight to move arms control policy significantly to the left; rather, they will vie for control of the party's mainstream. At the same time, representatives of some of the largest grass-roots groups have been seriously discussing issuing a call for complete nuclear disarmament. Several proposals recommending disarmament by the year 2000 have been circulated during the past few months. Voters in five Massachusetts districts gave resounding approval in November to initiatives calling for an immediate nuclear test ban and a 1 percent reduction of U.S. nuclear weapons, to be followed by gradual reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, leading to their near-abolition. In its latest strategy statement, the Freeze Campaign calls for the elimination of nearly all nuclear weapons.

"Almost abolition" is the wave of the antinuclear future, at least at the grass-roots level. Many activists want total disarmament, but they accept that the United States should maintain a small nuclear arsenal to allow for Soviet cheating and the so-called Qaddafi factor. A handful of groups in Washington may sign on, but most of the movement's lobbyists and the overwhelming majority of its friends in arms control circles and in Congress won't touch it. For almost five years the movement's grass roots have accepted (grudgingly at times) the wisdom of seeking respectability. Next year, therefore, we may witness the first real split between grass-roots disarmament activists and the arms control establishment in Washington.

Greg Mitchell is the editor of Nuclear Times.

E.P. THOMPSON

Reykjavik was regarded by both sides as an arena for public relations. It is a tribute to the worldwide level of concern for peace that both sides tried to outbid each other with grandiloquent proposals. That is a small plus.

The Soviet Union won the public relations contest in the eyes of everyone except the U.S. media. It certainly scored a victory in Western Europe. That is because most people on our side of the Atlantic are convinced that Gorbachev badly needs to cut military expenditures in order to modernize the Soviet economy; the unilateral nuclear test moratorium, sustained for more than a year in the face of pressure from the Soviet military, is more convincing than any set of proposals; only a few crazy ideologues and hired hands in Western Europe have any time for Star Wars, hence the Soviet position on it is popular; and no one believes that a U.S. negotiating team that includes people like Richard Perle could be serious about nuclear disarmament.

However, the public relations operation did result in astounding proposals that seemed to suggest that the abolition of "all" nukes was possible and just around the corner. A plus for that also. Now all the "utopian," "unpractical" talk of peace movements seems to carry the endorsement of the highest powers and stations of planet Earth.

The funny thing about this is that it sent the public relations machine of the Western European establishments into a tizzy. It undercut their whole deterrence line of apologetics. The American public is now being told that its European allies don't want Ronald Reagan's kind disarmament proposals after all. The British and French want to keep their own nukes, and NATO wants to keep some cruise and Pershings on site.

I do not need to tell readers of *The Nation* that this is less than half the story. For "Europeans," read "European military-political establishments." The rest of Western Europe—which includes major oppositions, the West German Social Democratic Party and Greens, Scandinavian Social Democratic parties, the British Labor Party (and the majority of Liberals), as well as the peace movements—is laughing its head off. Reagan's oversell stripped the European establishments of their clothes and left them naked in the marketplace. Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl (and, *hélas*, François Mitterrand), who hastened on cruise and Pershing with ardent professions of their enthusiasm for the "zero-zero" option, are now exposed as hypocrites. It is high farce, and it is doing the peace movement and the peace-oriented opposition a lot of good.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If there has to be some measure of arms control—even disarmament—both sides want it to be in areas of their choice. The United States wants to get rid of Soviet ICBMs, based on land and targeted on U.S. territory. The Russians might be willing to trade off ICBMs but only if Star Wars is checked. The United States wants to keep its hands free in areas where it has the technological edge over the Russians, especially in space, but it also wants to keep some air- and sea-launched systems. The Russians fear exotica in space, where they cannot afford to compete.

Meanwhile, U.S. advisers are less worried about intermediate and short-range nukes, which can't hit U.S. territory, but that is where the Thatcher/Kohl farce is blocking progress. The proper response to all this by people concerned with peace is laughter, and then measured cynicism.

Of course, we are not going to get a nuke-free future as long as the global bloc confrontation goes on. Yes, we might get this or that measure—even a deal on intermediate-range nukes—and we should try hard for that. But the realistic goal is a "historic compromise" between the superpowers. That would mean political, cultural and economic relaxation along with arms control agreements; the reduction of conventional forces as well as the elimination of this and that category of nukes. But it wouldn't be a trade-off between the United States and the Soviet Union over our heads. Small and middle-sized nations may be the first to get the act moving: West German and East German agreements; a trade-off as the British get rid of U.S. nuclear bases on their soil and the Czechs ask the Soviet Union to remove their short-range nukes and pull back conventional forces.

I'm sure that the American peace movement has now understood that making peace is as much a political question as a question of arms control. When we have stopped laughing after Reykjavik, we must get our acts together.

E.P. Thompson, a British historian and writer, is an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a founder of European Nuclear Disarmament.

ROBERT KARL MANOFF

The nuclear regime is a system of talk. For forty-one years many of the same possibilities have been foreseen, the same subjects addressed, the same quandaries discussed. The deployments that really matter in this semantic field are those not of warheads but of meaning.

But one notion has virtually disappeared from the discourse: that nuclear weapons ought to be, and can be, eliminated. Even the antinuclear movement had abandoned it by the time the limited test-ban treaty was signed in 1963. Disarmament became disreputable; disarmers, embarrassing figures on the margin. Supported by expert opinion and popular Sovietphobia, the "realists" have dominated the discourse ever since.

Ronald Reagan is a nuclear naïf, however, and that made possible his unfortunate embrace of strategic defense at a time when most experts would have advised that he do otherwise. But it is also what permitted him to discuss the

BILL OF RIGHTS DINNER
Friday, December 5, 1986
SHERATON CENTRE HOTEL
52nd Street & 7th Avenue, New York City
Cocktails 6:00 to 7:00 Royal Ballroom
Dinner 7:00 Imperial Ballroom
Couvert $60 per person
Tom Paine Award
to
Phil Foner
Noted labor historian and
Professor Emeritus, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Jack Foner
Noted lecturer and
Professor Emeritus of history, Colby College, Maine
Moe Foner
Retired Executive Secretary, District 1199,
Health and Hospital Workers and
Founder of *Bread and Roses*
Henry Foner
President, Local 1—FLM—FJC
United Food & Commercial Workers
Host
Victor Rabinowitz
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
175 Fifth Avenue, New York City (212) 673-2040

BUDGET HOLIDAY YOUTH TOUR TO THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC & CZECHOSLOVAKIA!

December 26, 1986 - January 2, 1987
8 PLEASURE PACKED DAYS
AT JUST $850 Land Only $475
From New York • All-Inclusive
Plus visa charges and U.S. Customs and Departure Taxes
Celebrate the holidays in Prague and Berlin! Full sightseeing, meetings with Czech youth, the GDR Friendship Committee and Free German Youth . . . traditional gala dinner in Prague . . . gala New Years Eve Party in Berlin . . . a marvelous holiday in a warm atmosphere of youth friendship and solidarity!
CALL OR WRITE FOR FULL ITINERARY
Voices of the Future/Anniversary Tours
250 W. 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10107
212-245-7501 • Toll-free 800-223-1336

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elimination of strategic weapons systems at Hofdi House in Reykjavik.

By so doing, Ronald Reagan changed the discourse. Having appropriated the moral force and political energy of the antinuclear movement with his Star Wars proposal, in Iceland the President helped to give voice to what had been unspeakable for decades. Whether he meant to do so is less important than the fact that he did it. This has been understood by America's European allies and by many in Reagan's own Administration, in the arms control community, the military and Congress—all of whom have expressed their dismay. Few voices have been raised in support of the President's ambitious vision.

It has been a fascinating spectacle. For decades lip service was paid to the notion that although eliminating nuclear weapons was an impractical idea, the world would be better off without them. Discourse after Reykjavik has been different. Faced with the prospect of getting rid of the weapons, the public seems to have concluded that we ought to hang on to them after all.

Those who do not concur have only themselves to blame. With few exceptions they have remained silent, distraught that the President has again stolen a march on them, or fearful lest they get out ahead of where they imagine their constituencies to be. If those with another vision of the future would like to see it realized, they must begin by finding their tongues. Only by controlling the discourse will they ever master the weapons. The President, believe it or not, has shown them a way.

Robert Karl Manoff, a co-director of the Center for War, Peace and the News Media, at New York University, is writing a book on press coverage of nuclear issues.

PAUL C. WARNKE

At Reykjavik, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev both expressed their distaste for nuclear weapons and their desire to rid the world of them. Subsequent discussions at Vienna and Geneva seem to have degenerated into bickering about whether all nuclear weapons are to be eliminated in ten years, or just ballistic missiles.

It would be a sad mistake if those interested in concrete steps to prevent nuclear war were to get drawn into this argument. Instead, maximum political pressure should be exerted on the Reagan Administration to preserve the constraints currently in place and negotiate the drastic cuts in strategic offensive weapons that both sides agreed could be made within five years.

The purpose of nuclear arms control is to prevent nuclear war. In a world better designed and run, that might be done by destroying all existing nuclear weapons and dismantling facilities for their production. But today, and in the foreseeable future, no such treaty can be negotiated, verified or enforced. Even if the United States and the Soviet Union could trust each other not to squirrel away a few, or a few hundred, nuclear warheads, there would be no assurance that other nuclear powers (particularly France and China) would give up their nuclear forces. Despite their pious protestations at Iceland, therefore, I believe that the nuclear superpowers will continue to protect an assured nuclear deterrent.

What can clearly be done, and done quickly, is to limit each side to a much smaller number of weapons designed to survive but not threaten a first strike. The key to such a restructuring is a sharp cut in silo-based intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple, independently targetable reentry vehicles. The ready means for achieving that result is, of course, the SALT II treaty, which President Reagan has said is no longer operative.

Rather than flout SALT II ceilings, the Administration should reach an agreement to lower them by at least 10 percent a year for five years. That would put into effect the tentative agreement at Reykjavik.

But the Reagan Administration's plans to exceed the limits set by SALT II and to reinterpret the ABM Treaty will increase, rather than reduce, the threat of nuclear war. Testing of space-based defensive systems will eviscerate the treaty and make it impossible for Soviet leaders to consider reductions that, together with an otherwise ineffective strategic defense, would forfeit their retaliatory deterrent. In addition the obvious concern of Soviet leaders about the offensive capability of the Strategic Defense Initiative will foreclose any consideration of cutting offensive nuclear forces.

Organizations and individuals committed to lessening the risk of nuclear war should not allow the prospects for progress briefly and tantalizingly revealed at Reykjavik to be blurred by a pointless debate about how to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Opinions can and will differ on the feasibility of general nuclear disarmament, but there should be no argument about the fact that we can't get there without intermediate steps, focusing on selective reductions of the weapons that present the gravest peril. And there also should be no argument about the fact that we will never get there if existing restraints that provide a ready means for significant, selective cuts are blithely discarded.

Paul C. Warnke is an attorney with Clifford & Warnke in Washington and chair of the Committee for National Security. He was director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1977 and 1978 and was chief U.S. negotiator for the SALT II treaty.

TOM HARKIN

I see no grounds for optimism in the way President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev handled arms control during the Iceland summit. I see, instead, cause for anger and alarm. In spite of genuine movement by both sides on the important details of a formula for limiting strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons, participation by the two leaders actually made things worse.

Rather than agreeing to eliminate intermediate nuclear force (I.N.F.) missiles in Europe and to reduce the number of strategic nuclear weapons significantly, President Reagan chased after his Star Wars mirage of nuclear disarmament on earth through a military buildup in space. Bedazzled by

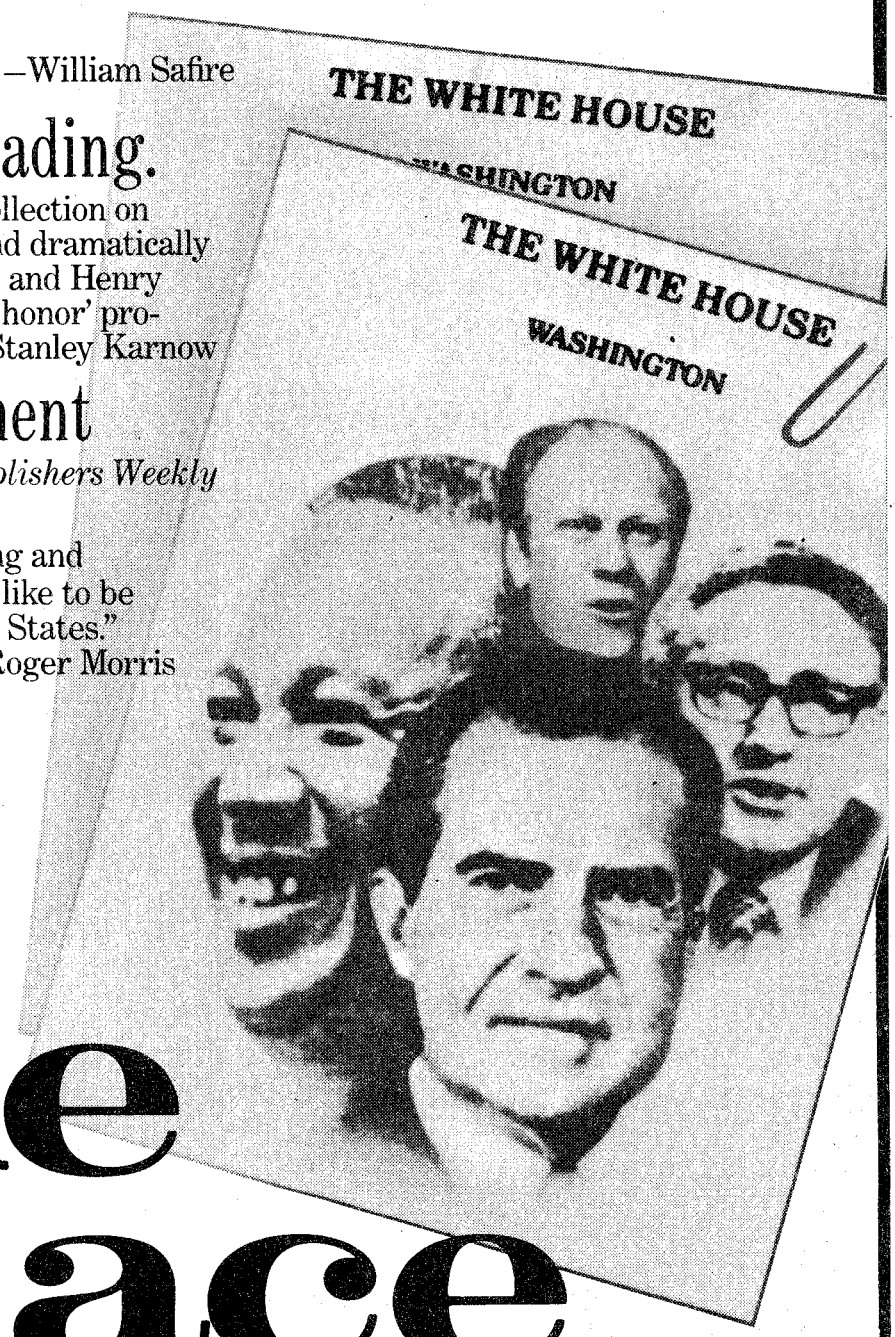
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A real eye-opener." —William Safire

"This is required reading.
Few books among the current collection on Vietnam reveal more credibly and dramatically that the effort by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger to achieve 'peace with honor' produced neither." —Stanley Karnow

"A scathing indictment of U.S. policy in Vietnam." —*Publishers Weekly*

"Extraordinary...Hung and Schecter tell us starkly what it's like to be friend, ally, victim of the United States."
—Roger Morris



The Palace File

The remarkable story of the secret letters from Nixon and Ford to the President of South Vietnam and the American promises that were never kept

NGUYEN TIEN HUNG and JERROLD L. SCHECTER

Maps, Illustrations

Harper & Row

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISSATISFACTION GUARANTEED OR YOUR MONEY BACK.

At *The Nation*, we don't expect you to be dissatisfied with our magazine. Just with what it covers:

Public relations games that take priority over disarmament. Affronts to your intelligence by government spokespersons. Assaults on our values and freedoms by the Falwells of the world.

You'll get stirred up by the likes of Alexander Cockburn, Penny Lernoux and Stephen F. Cohen.

Then to agitate you even more, *The Nation* offers writing on the arts of such quality and style that it, too, gives you a lot to think about.

Of course, some people don't mind getting this worked up. If you're one of them, you may want to subscribe by filling out the coupon.

But be forewarned. Our guarantee is different from that of most magazines.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES! I'M READY TO BE DISSATISFIED. Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of a full 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

NAME (Please Print)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Double my savings. Send me a full year (47 issues) for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

Add: Foreign postage: $4.50/24 issues, $9/one year.
Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8644

his own dream, Reagan said no to a ten-year limit on the Strategic Defense Initiative in exchange for reductions in offensive nuclear arms.

It was a profound mistake to reject this compromise, but it was especially disconcerting to learn that the Leader of the Free World was apparently winging it during critical negotiations. When the Russians objected to the one-sided U.S. proposal to ban all strategic ballistic missiles, Reagan apparently said he would be willing to eliminate all nuclear weapons in ten years—a position that had not been discussed with the President's own experts or governments dependent on the U.S. nuclear deterrent.

As for Gorbachev, he reneged in Iceland on two important commitments he had made at the 1985 Geneva summit: that he would meet with the President in the United States in 1986, and that a separate agreement on I.N.F. missiles could be concluded in spite of differences over S.D.I. Instead of attempting to move the Geneva negotiations forward, Gorbachev chose to play to the galleries with his unrealistic offer of nuclear disarmament within a decade.

The real opportunity for arms control was created by the elections. The last Congress failed to defend the arms control edifice that was so painstakingly erected by past Administrations, largely because the Republican Senate was not willing to stand up to the President. The next Congress will have the means to force U.S. compliance with existing arms control agreements, but it will need continual encouragement from the American people. Although it will be more difficult to induce the Administration to take new steps in arms control, if the White House will work with the Democratic leadership, the 100th Congress can contribute to forging agreements that reduce nuclear arsenals and the risks of war.

Tom Harkin is the junior Senator from Iowa.

PAM SOLO

The summit between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in Iceland created new opportunities and challenges for the disarmament movement. Whatever their domestic or international motivation, both Reagan and Gorbachev demonstrated that ending the arms race is a political decision, not a technical problem.

There are three minimal lessons of Reykjavik for the peace movement. First, we must turn up the heat under Reagan and Gorbachev. We should demand that they pursue the proposals offered in Iceland. The peace movement should call for more daring initiatives like the Soviet nuclear testing moratorium, which build confidence and set the stage for future action.

Second, the peace movement must set the terms of the debate, defining the problem more accurately as one of reaching security in the nuclear age without nuclear and conventional weapons. The U.S. peace movement must define a new basis for security outside the arms control framework, even while it struggles to define this new basis for security in a world bristling with conflict. To turn away

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from this task will only deepen the peace movement's current dilemma of choosing which weapons to oppose and which to support.

Third, in the short run, the peace movement must join the war of ideas launched at Reykjavik. By rejecting deterrence and offering hope of a world free of nuclear weapons, Reagan has set his own rhetorical trap. The peace movement should reclaim this political and moral ground by opposing Star Wars, not on the basis of its technical feasibility but on its inability to achieve Reagan's own vision—which may have developed in response to the peace movement. But the peace movement must also work to expose the myth of Soviet conventional superiority. This becomes even more urgent given Reagan's commitment to Margaret Thatcher, after Iceland, that nuclear arms reductions would take place only in the context of redressing Soviet conventional strength.

If the peace movement does not rise to this challenge, no one will. The new Democratic Senate, looking toward the White House in 1988, will probably be cautious. The peace movement is the opposition party between now and 1988.

Pam Solo is a visiting scholar at Radcliffe College and a co-director of the Institute for Peace and International Security. She was one of the initiators of the nuclear freeze campaign.

DAVID CORTRIGHT AND ROBERT K. MUSIL

As we stood in the damp wind handing out press releases in Reykjavik, we never dreamed that nuclear disarmament was being discussed downtown at Hofdi House. In the past few years SANE: the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has called for the elimination of all nuclear and conventional weapons by 2005 in carefully planned stages. But few people have listened; hence, the tactical focus on a test ban, on budget cuts, on Star Wars, on stopping or slowing anything we could. No longer.

At Reykjavik, Ronald Reagan made nuclear disarmament respectable. Former Energy Secretary James Schlesinger may have grumbled publicly that, as far as he knew, only SANE had approved of Reagan's radical ideas, but now there is no going back. Our analysis of post-Reykjavik support for Reagan in public opinion polls indicates that many people backed him because they believed he was holding out for deep cuts, disarmament, peace. Unless the peace movement can offer an equally bold and compelling vision, the door temporarily blown ajar by the disarmament breezes out of Iceland will surely slam shut.

SANE, along with other groups, is calling for a citizens' summit on nuclear disarmament to be held in Washington on June 12, the anniversary of the 1982 New York City anti-nuclear march. We plan a U.S.-Soviet rock concert and other cultural events, a huge rally and an international conference to represent those people and peace groups of the world so disappointed by the outcome in Reykjavik.

We are also initiating a nationwide test-ban referendum campaign. The proposed resolutions include demands for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. In December, SANE

BULK ORDERS

FACING SOUTH AFRICA

The November 22 issue of The Nation takes a comprehensive look at the political situation in South Africa and the black majority's struggle for liberation.

Andrew Kopkind provides a Reporter's Notebook of his recent travels. Based on interviews with black trade unionists, Afrikaners, South African Indians, white liberals and A.N.C. members, he presents a snapshot of the black and white communities at the point of momentous change. David Lewis analyzes South Africa's relationship with the international community and assesses the effects of sanctions and other external pressures.

Also: Reviews of black South African fiction, music (including a discography) and theater. Book Notes on nonfiction titles. An extensive organization and media resource list.

The Special Issue of The Nation is ideal for distribution to the membership of your organization, for classroom use, or for passing along to friends.

The special rates quoted below are good only for orders received by December 15, 1986. So send in the attached coupon for your bulk order today.

1 - 9 copies . . . . . $2.00 each
10 - 99 copies . . . . $1.00 each
100 - 499 copies . . . $ .75 each
500 or more copies . $ .50 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

Send me _____ copies of The Nation Special Issue, **Facing South Africa**. I enclose $_____ payment in full.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents please add appropriate sales tax.)

8644

FSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is formally presenting to Congress a Draft Treaty for General Disarmament and Common Security. This time, though, we find people are listening.

David Cortright and Robert K. Musil are, respectively, executive director and director of communications and education for SANE. They attended the Reykjavik summit as part of a joint U.S.-European peace delegation.

SAYRE SHELDON

The word "disarmament" worries some Americans. When Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament formed, in 1981, some in the peace movement said the group's name would be a political liability. But the early organizers wanted a strong statement of purpose and followed the example of the European organizations, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and European Nuclear Disarmament.

Has the term "nuclear disarmament" become more respectable since the Reykjavik meeting, now that deep reductions in nuclear forces have been discussed by the leaders of both superpowers? Beyond the words themselves is a new conceptual reality: nuclear disarmament has been acknowledged as a meaningful, achievable goal.

Are Americans now less fearful about nuclear disarmament, or any less confused about what it might mean? Many still believe their national security depends directly on the number of nuclear weapons stockpiled in the arsenals of the United States and its allies. The enemy is relentlessly identified as the Soviet Union, and children are brought up to believe that the cold war is a fact of life. The Reagan Administration refused to take the first step toward nuclear disarmament when the opportunity presented itself in Iceland. Instead, Reagan insisted on developing expensive weapons that will ultimately militarize space and pose a new threat of annihilation.

The meeting at Reykjavik provided a brief vision of what is possible. Peace advocates have succeeded in bringing the world this far; now we must work toward another level. We must expose the illusion of defense promised by Star Wars, and we must oppose it. We must show that national security is incompatible with threats to another country's existence. We must explain that nuclear disarmament will make America stronger, not weaker.

Peace activists around the world must form vast coalitions, working with coordinated national strategies. After Reykjavik the mission is clear: we are ready for the next step on the long road to stopping the arms race.

Sayre Sheldon is president emeritus of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament.

EDUCATORS: USE THE NATION IN YOUR CLASSROOM. SPECIAL LOW RATES.

CALL STEPHEN SOULE (212) 242-8400.

Iran Arms Deal

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

fighter aircraft are all of U.S. manufacture, as are a majority of its tanks and radar systems. With a large proportion of its fighters grounded for lack of spare parts, Iran is prepared to go to any length to acquire U.S.-made arms and parts, even if that involves direct talks with Washington.

Teheran seemed to be doing reasonably well in securing its military needs through private arms dealers in the United States and Europe until January 1984. At that point the Reagan Administration included Iran on its list of nations supporting terrorism, thus making the Islamic Republic subject to rigorous export controls. The United States also leaned heavily on third-party suppliers of U.S.-made arms or parts to Iran.

While professing neutrality in the gulf war, the Reagan Administration increasingly tilted toward Iraq and provided it with financial aid, military intelligence and, most recently, helicopters. At the same time that it was proscribing Iran for terrorism, the United States removed Iraq from its list of outlaw nations.

When the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad kidnapped U.S. diplomat William Buckley in Beirut in March 1984, demanding the release of seventeen men convicted in Kuwait on charges of bombing the U.S. and French embassies four months earlier, it also called on Washington and Paris to alter their policies toward Iran. The group demanded an end to French weapons sales to Iraq and a suspension of the U.S. arms embargo on Iran.

The first, muted signs of change in U.S. policy toward Iran appeared in the spring of 1985, following the March offensive in the marshlands north of Basra, in which Iran's forces broke through heavily fortified Iraqi defenses, crossed the Tigris River and cut the Basra-Baghdad highway near Qurna. Although the Iranians were later decimated by an Iraqi counteroffensive, the White House was apparently impressed by their determination in breaking the Iraqi lines without any air support. With the help of Ibrahim Yazdi, a former Iranian Foreign Minister who was visiting Washington, McFarlane set up "backchannel" communications with Teheran.

What gave added impetus to those contacts was the hijacking of a Trans World Airlines jet to Syria in June 1985. Intervention by President Hafez al-Assad of Syria was not enough to bring the release of all thirty-nine hostages. The last four were not freed until a prominent Iranian emissary arrived in Damascus, acting at the behest of Hojatolislam Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Parliament and official spokesman of the Supreme Defense Council. Afterward, Reagan wrote a personal letter thanking Rafsanjani, which opened the way for high-level talks.

Diplomatic shifts were also occurring in Teheran. In late July, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini issued new guidelines for Iranian foreign policy, lamenting that Iran's international

Dilip Hiro is the author of Iran Under the Ayatollahs *(Methuen). He recently spent two weeks in Iran.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friends could be "counted on the fingers of two hands." There was no hint of a specific overture to the United States; however, Khomeini said that if the Reagan Administration would accept the Islamic revolution as a firm reality, there were grounds for the two countries to talk.

In Washington, liaison with Iran was assigned to Lieut. Col. Oliver North, deputy director for political-military affairs on the National Security Council. On September 14, 1985, he secured the release of the Rev. Benjamin Weir. Iran then received a planeload of U.S.-made arms and spare parts originating in Israel, an exchange reportedly set up in collusion with the Israeli secret services. This was to set the pattern for the subsequent release of the Rev. Lawrence Jenco and David Jacobsen.

But the progress was far from smooth. When Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger learned of the secret U.S.-Iran deal, they protested vehemently. In response President Reagan put the agreement on ice, but not for long.

Although during the summer of 1985 the White House had provided some arms and had eased its pressure on third parties supplying U.S.-made weapons and parts to Teheran, Iranian leaders were not satisfied. They wanted the release of $300 million worth of military supplies for which the Shah had paid but which President Jimmy Carter had blocked in 1979, during the hostage crisis. Rafsanjani said as much in a Friday prayer address in Teheran on November 7, when he alluded to the "wealth and goods of Iran frozen in America" that might be released in exchange for Iranian efforts to free U.S. hostages in Lebanon. Rafsanjani may also have had in mind a ruling by the U.S.-Iran Claims Tribunal in The Hague that Washington should return $500 million in Iranian assets by the end of 1986.

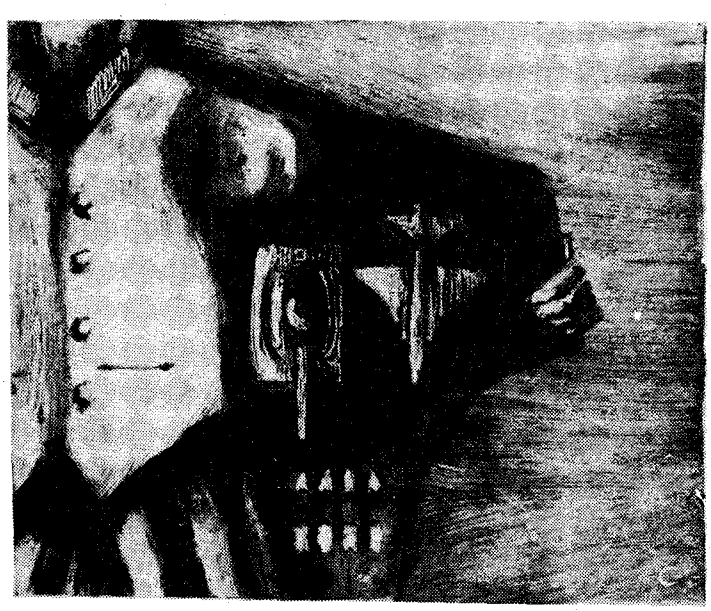
Rapprochement between Teheran and Washington was to be built on the hostages-for-arms deal. During his May sojourn in Teheran, McFarlane's question to Iranian leaders seems to have been, If the Reagan Administration facilitates military transfers to Iran, will Iran offer security guarantees to the gulf states? Yes, he was reportedly told, if the United States would also assist in getting the oil price raised from its current low level. McFarlane apparently agreed; for a few months later Iran's Oil Minister, Gholamrezah Aghazadeh, visited Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and had "friendly and brotherly" talks with both governments. If further evidence of a switch in the Saudi stance was needed, it came on October 30, when Sheik Zaki Yamani, the longtime Saudi Oil Minister, was unceremoniously sacked. Yamani had been unenthusiastic about the Iranian strategy of raising oil prices by curtailing output.

In short, from the viewpoint of Washington and Teheran, things were going well. Why then did Rafsanjani spill the beans about the McFarlane visit in his November 4 speech to the Iranian Parliament?

The answer is that it was not Rafsanjani who first revealed the McFarlane mission but *Al Shiraa*, a pro-Syrian magazine published in Beirut. Once the secret was out, presumably leaked to *Al Shiraa* by the Syrian government, Rafsanjani probably decided that his best course was to come clean. At a minimum his motive must have been to protect himself and the Supreme Defense Council before a distorted version of the McFarlane episode could reach listeners in Iran through foreign broadcasting services and the host of clandestine radio stations run by exiled opponents of Khomeini.

Why did the Syrian government, which appears to have been privy to the goings-on between Teheran and Washington, leak the McFarlane story when it did? In the wake of Nezar Hindawi's conviction on October 24 for an abortive attempt to blow up an El Al airliner—which trial evidence had linked to Syria—the government of President Hafez al-Assad has been under intense pressure from Britain and the United States. Assad feared that the foreign ministers of the European Community, prodded by London and Washington, would impose military, economic and diplomatic sanctions against Syria at their London meeting on November 10.

By exposing the U.S.-Iranian deal, Assad achieved a number of goals:



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

§ He undermined the credibility of the Reagan Administration as the leader of the Western campaign against international terrorism. When George Shultz criticized France during his November 7 stopover in Paris for bargaining with Islamic fundamentalist groups in Lebanon to secure the release of nine French hostages, French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond retorted that the U.S. government had done the same.

§ He damaged the United States' standing in the Arab gulf states, which can only be to Iran's advantage.

§ He demonstrated the Reagan Administration's cynicism in prosecuting its citizens for attempting to sell arms or spare parts to Iran while doing the same thing itself, whether directly or through proxies.

§ He weakened Britain's case for stiff anti-Syrian measures by the European Community. Eventually, Britain abandoned its original demand for economic sanctions and the recall of European ambassadors to Syria. The community merely suspended arms sales to Damascus—no more than a reiteration of current policy—and banned visits by high-level Syrian leaders to European Community member countries.

§ By interrupting the clandestine arms-for-hostages agreement, Assad stalled any plans that Washington may have had for punishing Syria for its alleged role in the Hindawi affair. With a half-dozen Americans still held captive by Islamic fundamentalists in Lebanon, the Reagan Administration would be inhibited from treating Syria as it had treated Libya earlier this year.

How and why is Syria privy to Iran's secrets? Syria is a close ally of Iran in the gulf war, and Assad is just as strongly committed as Khomeini to the overthrow of Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein. Iran highly values Syria's friendship, providing 7.3 million barrels of free oil each year as its contribution toward Syria's struggle against Israel, and selling another 36.5 million barrels to Damascus at concessional rates. Even with the discount, Syria is so short of foreign exchange that it now owes Iran $1.5 billion.

Damascus reciprocates by sharing its intelligence on Iraq with Teheran and granting a limited number of Iranian Revolutionary Guards access to the city of Baalbek in eastern Lebanon, where they train the militia of the Hezbollah, a Lebanese Islamic fundamentalist party. (Iranian Revolutionary Guards first arrived in Lebanon in June 1982, following the Israeli invasion.)

Although Syria and Iran have been close allies in the gulf war, the conduct of pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon has become a major bone of contention between the two countries. Assad is acutely aware that the undisciplined actions of the Iranian-trained Hezbollah against Israel or the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army could lead to an ill-timed war between Israel and Syria. Accordingly, he has controlled Hezbollah activities with an iron hand. The Hezbollah has been strengthening its position in eastern and southern Lebanon at the expense of the Syrian-backed Amal militia, and its relations with the Syrian government, which controls eastern Lebanon, have deteriorated. The Hezbollah's disaffection with Assad has caused ripples in the World Office of the Islamic Liberation Movement in Qom, which sends Iranian Revolutionary Guards to Lebanon.

In early October the World Office's director, Mehdi Hashemi, ordered the arrest for public drunkenness of Iyad al-Mahmoud, the second-ranking diplomat at the Syrian Embassy in Teheran, who handled visa arrangements for Revolutionary Guards on their way to Lebanon. Mahmoud was also the Syrians' direct intermediary between Washington and Teheran. His appointment in that capacity came in the wake of the T.W.A. hijacking, when Assad began to play a pivotal role in brokering closer U.S.-Iranian relations. Senior Iranian leaders were profoundly embarrassed by the arrest of Mahmoud and its damaging effect on Iranian-Syrian relations, and had him released within a few hours. But this was evidently not enough to satisfy Assad. In late October, apparently by order of Khomeini, Hashemi found himself arrested on charges of forgery and illegal possession of arms, having attempted to smuggle weapons on an aircraft carrying pilgrims to Mecca. Hashemi's arrest was protested by Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, Khomeini's designated successor, who, among his various activities, provides general guidelines to the World Office of the Islamic Liberation Movement. Khomeini insisted, however, that the charges must stand.

As details started to emerge about the McFarlane visit to Teheran, the Reagan Administration seized on the Hashemi incident in its effort at damage control. It declared that the strategic goal of its diplomatic contacts with Iran was to build bridges to "moderates" jockeying for position after Khomeini's death. Hashemi's arrest and Montazeri's reaction were presented as evidence of a profound succession battle, the second most intense power struggle since the February 1979 Islamic Revolution.

But the theory of splits in the Iranian leadership appears to have been made out of whole cloth. Hashemi is considered a maverick: his actions had not been authorized by his superiors. Montazeri's complaint was simply that he had not been consulted about Hashemi's arrest. He appears to have had no quarrel with the arrest itself. The idea of serious conflict between followers of Montazeri and Khomeini is too fanciful to be taken seriously by anyone who follows present-day Iran closely. The relationship between the two men dates back more than forty years, to their days as master and student in Qom. Their portraits, of equal size, hang together on the walls of barracks, schools and factories.

Nor is the idea of a struggle between Montazeri and Rafsanjani plausible. As well as being speaker of the Parliament, Rafsanjani is deputy chair of the eighty-three-member Assembly of Experts, which designated Montazeri as Khomeini's successor in July 1985. He had lobbied hard for Montazeri's nomination for more than a year. Besides, Rafsanjani has no serious leadership aspirations of his own. Both his relative youth and his religious rank stand against him. Rafsanjani is one of some 5,000 clerics with the rank of Hojatolislam—two below the rank of Grand Ayatollah.

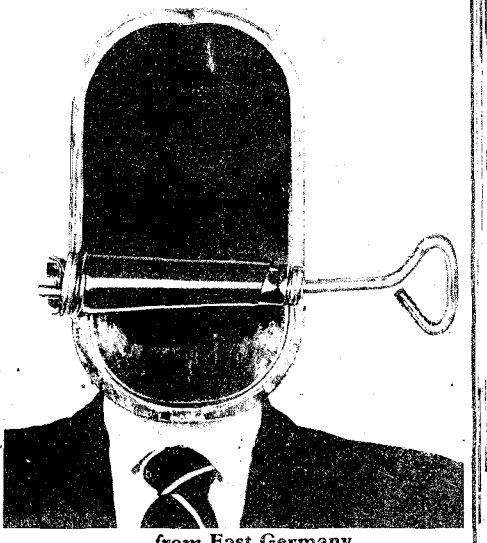
Leadership divisions may indeed hold the key to understanding recent U.S.-Iranian relations. But it is in Washington, not Teheran, that they are most apparent. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS TO CLEAR THE HEAD

Readers International brings you today's world literature. Each hardcover volume, by subscription, is just $8.45. (regularly to $16.95)

You are an honest journalist—you discover a potential Chernobyl *and*—you write east of the Berlin Wall. Reporter Josepha Nadler is likeable, disorganized, amusingly scathing about herself and her newspaper colleagues. Then a visit to "the filthiest town in Europe" plunges her into the personal and professional battle of her life. In *Flight of Ashes* author Monika Maron breaks with the prescribed silences about the press, the Party, the position of women and the real lives of workers in a Workers' State.



from East Germany
FLIGHT OF ASHES
by Monika Maron

From Haïti comes Pierre Clitandre's *Cathedral of the August Heat*. His novel brings alive the epic of the New World's poorest who, once again, have made history. Clitandre's sweat-soaked humor "blends earthy realism with voodoo and Creole folklore...a marvelous apotheosis" says *World Literature Today*.

Next to Africa and the satirical *Laugh-to-Cry*, as the great Congolese novelist Henri Lopes lampoons the supreme African dictator—Amin, Bokassa, Mobutu, all in one—who moves overnight from the barracks to the Presidential Palace. Funny but searing: Lopes' satire bites with anger and sadness at Africa's burden of butcher-clowns.

Fiction, says André Brink, has a way of recording a truth deeper than fact. Through READERS INTERNATIONAL (**RI**) you can explore new worlds of fiction, worlds seen more clearly, stories told more freshly than in any press or TV news report.

"*A splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting*," says London's Financial Times.

RI works like a magazine subscription—every other month you receive a new and timely book: handsome hardcover editions at the special price of $8.45 + $1.50 postage. You help fund the translation and printing of some of the world's finest literature.

Subscribe now for a *good read* and help bring some of today's most gifted writers into English. "Readers International is exciting: good books—and a good cause," says A. Whitney Ellsworth, publisher of the *New York Review of Books*. Return the coupon now to receive your first volume.

ALREADY LAUNCHED by readers like you: Linda Ty-Casper's *Awaiting Trespass* (Philippines), "This deeply moving book is full of good people, good talk and a wisdom of the inner life"—Kirkus. *My Merry Mornings* by Ivan Klíma, "charming and comic stories about Prague, irrepressibly cheerful & successfully written"—Financial Times. Osvaldo Soriano's *A Funny Dirty Little War* (Argentina)—"feisty and brawling, rooted in the reality of the nation"—NY Times Bk Rev. *Poland Under Black Light* by Janusz Anderman—"an honest and powerful voice...he undercuts the lies of one side and the mythology of the other"—New Statesman. *Fools* by Ndebele (S. Africa), "Intricate & subtle . . . unusual depth"—LA Times.

RI READERS INTERNATIONAL
PO Box 959, Columbia, LA 71418

Please begin my subscription to RI's series with *Flight of Ashes* at the $8.45 subscriber price plus $1.50 for postage. Send RI's latest book at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing you.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE/PROV. ZIP/CODE

☐ $9.95 (Can. $12.50) enclosed. Bill my ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

SPECIAL SAVINGS: Prepay a year's subscription for six books at $6.50 each plus $1.50 p&p:
☐ I enclose my check for $48.00 (Can. $58). ☐ Bill my credit card for $48 (US currency only).

TNA 13

How **RI** Selects Books: Literary merit is the first consideration of **RI**'s editors and advisors. Many of these works were initially banned at home or written in exile: **RI** is committed to publishing literature in danger. Each is current, from the past 10 years. Each is new to readers here—although many have been acclaimed in European editions. Subscribe now and give these powerful writers a voice in English, all at a very modest price.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Moral Interrogations

SVEN BIRKERTS

DEAD ALIVE. *By Eva Demski. Translated by Jan van Heurck. Harper & Row. 293 pp. $19.95.*

For I had to make him as you make a dead man, who has lost all the proofs and all the constituent parts of his existence, who has to be achieved entirely within you.

—Rilke, *The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge*

Frankfurt, 1974. On the Saturday before Easter, an unnamed woman stands at the head of the stairs in a dark apartment building and watches two men trundling a zinc coffin down the narrow stairwell. Inside is the body of her estranged husband, age 30, dead of "natural causes."

The frame quickly expands. We find out that the apartment is swarming with police. The husband, it appears, was a radical lawyer who represented imprisoned members of the Baader-Meinhof gang (known henceforth as "the Group"). The police are looking for certain papers; an autopsy has already been ordered. As the woman stands in the corridor, in numb shock, she hears other officers interrogating a shabbily-dressed young man—one of her husband's lovers. "They're enemies," she thinks, preparing to give her own deposition, "You have to fight them with cunning, dignified means."

Within a dozen pages, Eva Demski has put into motion all of the elements of a tough urban thriller: a dead man with terrorist connections, a host of prying cops, hints of night-side sexuality . . . but just as deftly she turns on her heel. The highly pressurized materials of *Dead Alive* do not explode into action. The woman attends to her business and then leaves, bearing the lurid images into the stillness of her life.

Because of the Easter holiday and the required autopsy, twelve days must elapse before the body can be laid to rest. Demski has structured the novel accordingly, a chapter to every day. The strategy works to wonderful effect. We follow the woman through her days, as she contacts friends and associates, and through her stages of grief and realization; we heed the surges of memory. Ultimately the entire chaos of an epoch is forced through the aperture of those days of waiting. Sharp flashes disclose the couple's history: their courtship, his early days as a flamboyant public defender, the travails of their shared activism and the sexual conflicts that gradually destroyed their marriage. But, amazingly, Demski never detaches the private struggle from the larger context of the times. Every move is in some way bound up with the energies and pressures of the social sphere. Accounts from others sometimes vie with the woman's version. By the time we finish the novel we feel as though we have participated in the life cycle of a whole generation.

Demski's protagonist is completely credible in her reactions and gestures:

> Fundamentally, she was one of those plump, vivacious women, a bit maternal without ever wishing to be a mother, good-natured and rather arrogant—one of those women who tend to cry easily when they go to the movies or listen to late-night radio talk shows. But on this first evening, and as the night wore on, her eyes were a desert. A couple of trial sobs, a feeling as if a rough brush kept scraping back and forth inside her stomach; but not a single tear.

This is an inhabited character, not an invented one. Her emotional range is vast, and Demski makes no attempt to paint over her weaknesses. She becomes the perfect filter for the divergent voices that claim her attention.

Piece by piece, the woman begins to uncover the design of her husband's life. She talks with his parents and his former clients, colleagues and neighborhood cronies. The presentation is bare of easy sentiment. When the woman visits the hulking street vendor, Martina, for example, she hears: "You been off your feed for the last few days? You look better. Don't gobble it all back on. Have you had the funeral already?" The voices are worn, scarred, patched together—we trust them.

A lesser writer might have tried to force the plot to turn on the husband's hidden life. Demski is shrewder than that. Those people knew each other as well as any two complicated adults could—there are no sensational revelations. At the same time, though, the novel is faithful to the myriad ways in which other lives remain opaque. The woman is willing to face the truth of her husband's homosexuality, but try as she might, she cannot understand what it meant to him. At one point she visits a leather bar that he used to frequent. Against the backdrop of a pornographic film, she sees an apparition. The subtle tics of its otherness are far more disconcerting to her than the images on the screen:

> Suddenly the wife saw her husband very clearly, standing in a rigid pose at the bar. His profile was half hidden, and nothing was visible but his sharp nose and the shadows of his lashes on the curves of his cheeks. He was standing there as if he didn't see her, and observing the door with short, rapid movements of his eagle's head. She could see his white hands distinctly, lying side by side on the bar.

Soon after the news of the death has gone out, the woman is contacted by members of the Group. Terse voices instruct her over the phone. She arranges to meet a certain "Gloucester" in a cafe at the zoo. Posing as lovers, the two stage an embrace. She feels the young man tremble "like a taut wire from which a perching bird has just flown away: a movement not of fear but of alertness."

Their discussion concerns a valise that the lawyer had in his keeping: she must find it and deliver it to the Group. The woman is flattered, proud of having some importance for the revolution. But she is also confused and frightened. She cannot understand the impersonal intensity with which those people carry out their plans. Her husband's death, she sees, is nothing to them—it is a problem, an obstacle to surmount. Her emotions clash with her political sympathies. And when she finally does locate the valise, she realizes that there is no room for the striking of fashionable poses: she must face for herself the real implications of her husband's commitment.

Again, Demski avoids the more obvious narrative possibilities. Though the

Sven Birkerts is presently completing Hamann's Bone, *a collection of essays on contemporary poetry.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

terrorist presence remains a powerful source of tension, bringing into relief the moral and political interrogations, we end up seeing only a few traces of revolutionary activity. In the novel, as in German society, the Group stays underground.

Dead Alive delineates clearly how the euphoric solidarity of the 1960s has given way to the most complicated polarizations. Former activists retreat into apathy, girding themselves with defensive righteousness. Small sects turn to violent praxis. And in the midst of everything, the good liberal citizens vote "law and order" but scarcely conceal their glee at extremist actions. Demski's discursive plotting and her rendering of the woman's anguished indecision allow her to make an unforced examination of these various stances and motivations. The woman listens carefully when her husband's associate proclaims: "At my age, one no longer cares about being something special, becoming famous. All I want is the revolution." But she is no less attentive when her old friend Paul, also a lawyer, tells her: "I'm almost forty. When you reach my age, you have to watch out that you don't start to look comic as a revolutionary."

She realizes, finally, that she must choose for herself. She cannot be her husband, however much their ideals once converged. His anarchic temperament enabled him to accommodate, even foster, extremism—she cannot. The woman surreptitiously destroys the materials in the case. Though her gesture is in one sense cowardly—she admits as much—it is also genuine, the result of profound self-examination.

A review cannot do justice to the woven quality of Demski's narrative. She shuttles with great ease between the crepuscular anxieties of the moment and the unexpected incursions of memory. At the same time, the range of her concern and her nonjudgmental notation of character allow her to sustain a vivid sense of milieu. By the end of the tenth day, we have not only come to know the couple, but we have also penetrated the manifold layers of their social and political environment. What's more, we have watched, as if through a polished rearview mirror, the unceremonious end of an era:

> She still had one photo left from 1969. It showed the husband and wife looking earnest and excited, but also self-confident—he at twenty-six, she at

Expanded to Cover the Gorbachev Period

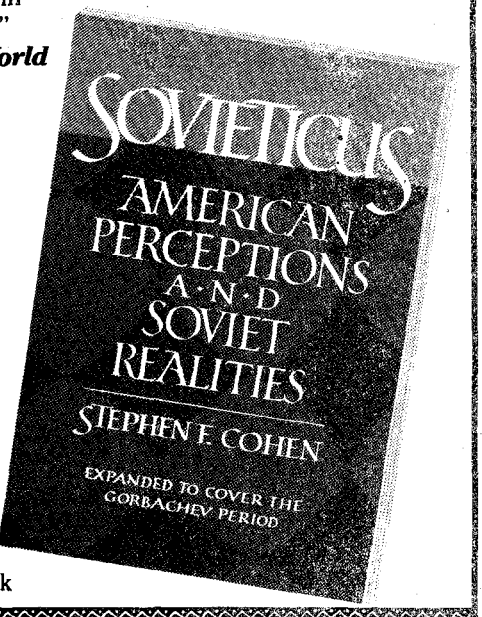
"Cohen ranks as one of America's foremost commentators on Soviet affairs.

His columns [in this book]...often open up small windows on the Soviet world, let in light, expose corners before kept in darkness by ignorance or prejudice."
—*Washington Post Book World*

"A model of scholarly journalism, sound and wonderfully readable."
—*Publishers Weekly*

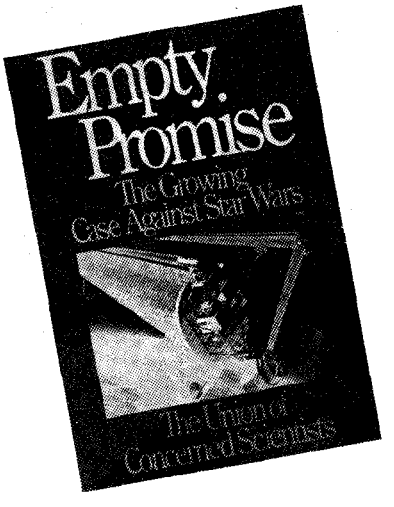
"*Sovieticus* is the most balanced and perceptive commentary on the Soviet Union that I have read in a long time

...Indispensable."
—George McGovern



Now at bookstores. $7.95, paperback
NORTON
W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 500 Fifth Ave. New York 10110.

Star Wars: Reagan's Fatal Vision?



EMPTY PROMISE
The Growing Case Against Star Wars
The Union of Concerned Scientists
President Reagan's recent insistence on Star Wars development has shattered world hopes of a new arms agreement. EMPTY PROMISE draws together nine of the nation's leading scientists and defense analysts to reveal the truth behind the selling of SDI to the American people and the fundamental flaws in the Star Wars concept.

"This thoughtful book should help to convince the American people of the serious error of Star Wars—infeasible, extremely costly, misleading, and an obstacle to nuclear arms control."
—Jimmy Carter

"A multi-faceted and readable account of why Star Wars is tragically flawed, ruinously expensive, and endangers the security of the United States."
—Carl Sagan

$7.95 paper; $19.95 cloth
Available at your bookstore or from

Beacon PRESS
Boston, MA 02108

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

twenty-five—both dressed in black, with the black silk flag draped over their shoulders.

On the day before the funeral, the woman suddenly throws herself into the project of making a scrapbook of faces from their shared past. Working with scissors and paste, she muses:

> How many different childhoods they had come out of; all of them approaching, like orbiting stars, a single point, where they then converged. Their childhoods hadn't been dream kingdoms. They had come from fine homes or from lower-middle-class obscurity; they had had anxious or megalomaniacal mothers; rich fathers or maybe no fathers at all—railroad conductors and generals, tradesmen and poets of the Thousand-Year-Reich—and yet all of them, coming from far away, had met at this same point, a place of enchantment. There had been joy in the land for that brief spell in 1967, when all over the country they listened to the radio and heard how many they were and how, at least for that moment, the streets belonged to them.

When the scrapbook is finished, the woman takes it to the cemetery and places it in her husband's coffin. She has completed her mourning. At that moment, the tightened strands of the novel vibrate to make an eerie music: Demski is declaring both victory and defeat. Though the man is dead, something has been wrested from his life. The past, too, is gone, its promises spent—but we see that its outsized dreams can still flare up in individual lives.

At the funeral, the mourners group themselves in sharply defined factions: family; the young lover and his friends; professional colleagues; a gang of black-jacketed motorcyclists. Plainclothes police stand by, oblivious to the presence of a well-dressed woman from the Group. As the priest tries to speak, another young woman begins to shout obscenities. It seems that chaos will carry the day. But then, miraculously, silence supervenes—something more potent than divisive ideology moves through the room. For the space of a breath, the consecrating mysteries of love and death banish all distinction. Their presence cannot be sustained, of course. Animosity and strife return as soon as the procession gets underway. But now there is a hollowness, a boastful bravado, a quickening sense that the actors have had it with the play, and that there may be other options. □

'Car, Bomb, God'

MARK RUDMAN

SELECTED POETRY OF YEHUDA AMICHAI. *Edited and newly translated by Chana Bloch and Stephen Mitchell. Harper & Row. 173 pp. $19.95. Paper $12.95.*

Yehuda Amichai is by now one of the half-dozen leading poets in the world. He has found a voice that speaks across cultural boundaries and a vision so sure that he can make the conflicts of the citizen soldier in modern Israel stand for those of humankind. What happens to the self in his poems reverberates through the body politic. Amichai's wit is also considerable; he can say virtually anything and give his words enough sting to defuse both sentimentality and hyperbole:

> if I pull out the stopper
> after pampering myself in the bath,
> I'm afraid that all of Jerusalem, and
> with it the whole world,
> will drain out into the huge darkness.
> ("You Musn't Show Weakness")

Amichai's work is governed by a single trope: the body is the world body—alive, sensual, fleshy—and in it the private and the public come together for better:

> When you do nice things to me
> all the heavy industries shut down.
> ("Poems for a Woman")

and for worse:

> They amputated
> your thighs from my hips.
> As far as I'm concerned, they're
> always
> doctors. All of them.
> ("A Pity. We Were Such a
> Good Invention")

Assia Gutmann, in her earlier translation of the poem above, had used the word "surgeons" for "doctors" ("They are all surgeons. All of them."), and the sense and syntax of her lines retain a striking accusatory music.

Translation is a matter of coincidence. Translators don't seek the right word so much as the spirit of the phrase. If they are lucky they will find a style that corresponds to that of the original text. In the case of Márquez, for instance, the immediate resource is Faulkner; in the case of Neruda and Vallejo, it is Whitman. In Yehuda Amichai's case, it is the Bible, notably the Psalms and the Song of Songs. It is no accident that the psalmic strains of his poetry translate as well as they do.

Another reason Amichai's poetry translates well is that his imagery, drawn as it is from myth, history and common experience, unlocks a world that is not the property or domain of one language: "Children move with the footsteps of someone else's grief/as if picking their way through broken glass" ("Seven Laments for the War-Dead"). But there are many layers of irony and allusion that are lost when we abandon "a language that once described/miracles and God" and is now made "to say car, bomb, God" ("National Thoughts").

Other writers have managed this transformation of the self and its language, but they have done so mainly in epic forms: Blake in the "Prophetic Books," Joyce, Williams in *Paterson*, Olson in the *Maximus Poems*. This method of metaphor in which the body becomes the world body allows Amichai to be quick, lyrical and cryptic, yet still make larger outward connections. In fact, he cannot avoid it, and envisions his life turned into a revolving door. A private man forced to wear a public mask, he sings of division. Yet the strain he feels in his life does not come across as strain in his work.

> All the days of his life my father tried
> to make a man of me,
> so that I'd have a hard face like
> Kosygin and Brezhnev,
> like generals and admirals and stock-
> brokers and financiers,
> all the unreal fathers I've established
> instead of my father . . .
> . . .
> I have to screw onto my face the ex-
> pression of a hero
> like a lightbulb screwed into the
> grooves of its hard socket,
> to screw in and to shine.
> ("Travels of the Last
> Benjamin of Tudela")

As we can see from this wry self-portrait, Amichai knows how to leaven hard truths with humor.

But Amichai embraces the public sphere only through the self. In an early poem he compares his life to Venice: everything that is streets in others is

---

Mark Rudman is the author of By Contraries and Other Poems, *which will be published this winter by the National Poetry Foundation.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"love, dark and flowing" in him. He submits all of his experiences to the pressure and presence of love before they can make their way into a poem. In this way he has, and no mean feat this, reclaimed the genre of the love poem for serious poetry. Personal without being private, serious without being solemn, he seeks relief and ease through the balm of love, writes as a man motivated to "go out to all [his] wars" and come back on account of love.

Amichai adopts a prophetic tone with remarkable ease. "He doesn't have seasons enough to have/a season for every purpose," he writes in "A Man Doesn't Have Time." When we speak of Biblical simplicity, we are really talking about a manner of address, a certain directness. Amichai has always been able to speak directly rather than employ metaphors for his thoughts. Metaphors are contained within the body of his poems rather than serving as a casement for them. His poems begin where most poems end. He begins without a mask, with the screen torn off and the scream in its place:

> Now that I've come back, I'm
> screaming again.
> And at night, stars rise like the
> bubbles of the drowned,
> and every morning I scream the
> scream of a newborn baby
> at the tumult of houses and at all this
> huge light.
>
> ("Jerusalem, 1967")

Amichai has been blessed in his translators: Assia Gutmann, Ted Hughes, Harold Schimmel, Ruth Nevo and now Chana Bloch and Stephen Mitchell. They have all ably conveyed the concrete particulars of his world, but Bloch and Mitchell get inside the text and render a subtler, more complex and formally expert Amichai than we have seen before in English. Many people who know both Hebrew and English well think that the Mitchell/Bloch translation is excellent and that it supersedes the earlier translations, but those of us who have been reading Amichai since the first translations appeared find it difficult to shake off their authority. There's a world of difference in the placement of a word. Assia Gutmann translated a line in one of his most memorable lyrics as "Hair dark above his thoughts," which isolates in an uncanny way the hair from the head, locates the source of the thoughts in the brain beneath the hair, turns the physical perception into an image of the

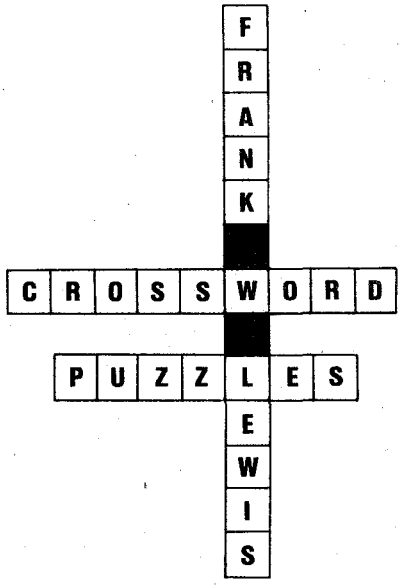
Fidel Castro: Nothing Can Stop the Course of History

Interview by Jeffrey M. Elliot and Mervyn M. Dymally

"... the longest and most wide-ranging interview ever conducted with Cuban President Fidel Castro. In it, Castro speaks directly to the people of the United States on questions of vital importance ..." *from the preface by Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally*

- U.S.-Cuban relations
- Soviet Union and Afghanistan
- drug-trafficking and Cuba
- Cuban troops in Africa
- 1988 Olympics in Korea
- U.S. invasion of Grenada
- economic crisis and revolution in Latin America

258 pp. Photographs. $7.95 paper
Available at your bookstore or by mail ($.75 postage).
Pathfinder Press
410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014



THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES #5

Send for the new collection of The Nation's British-style brain-teasers. Make a $5 check payable to E.S. Lewis, and mail to "Book," 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

"His journalism has lost none of its bite; the essays bristle with independent judgments, wit, profundity." —Publishers Weekly

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Photo: 1955 © Hans Namuth 1986

The Collected Essays and Criticism

Edited by John O'Brian

Clement Greenberg began his brilliant career as a critic with an essay on Brecht in *Partisan Review* in 1939. Throughout the next three decades, his trenchant writing appeared in that journal and in *The Nation*, *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, *The New York Times Book Review*, and elsewhere, establishing him as a major figure in twentieth-century art criticism. His work, in its original form and without revision, is now being collected in four volumes; these first two present more than two hundred articles on topics ranging from Northern Renaissance painting to American folk art and include those in which he emerged as champion of Jackson Pollock and other Abstract Expressionists.

Volume 1: Perceptions and Judgments, 1939–1944
Volume 2: Arrogant Purpose, 1945–1949
Each $27.50

The University of Chicago Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO THEY HAVE A FUTURE?

...only if you help

Years of conflict have created a needy population in the Holy Land. Many families cannot provide health care and education for their children. These children go to a school for the destitute, one of many projects sponsored by ANERA.

In the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Lebanon, ANERA helps families provide for the future of their children through:

- food for the homeless
- medical clinics
- job training

HELP GIVE THEM HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

Please send your check today.

ANERA

American Near East Refugee Aid
Attn: Dr. Peter Gubser
1522 K St. NW #202-b
Washington, D.C. 20005

☐ $500 ☐ $100 ☐ $85 ☐ $50 ☐ $25

☐ General Support
☐ Scholarship ($85 min)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Your donation is tax-deductible. Registered with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, the NCIB and Interaction. Established 1968.

character's psychological and spiritual condition and, in doing so, interprets the "thoughts" for us:

> Out of three or four in a room
> One is always standing at the window.
> Hair dark above his thoughts.
> ("Out of Three or Four in a Room")

Stephen Mitchell's version returns us to the thing itself, "*his dark hair* above his thoughts." [Emphasis added.] Gutmann's image stresses displacement, isolation; Mitchell's version—and he uses a comma after the preceding line instead of a period—stresses continuity of being in the world, ordinariness.

Reading the *Selected Poetry*, it occurred to me that Amichai's poetry resembles the work of James Wright more than that of any other contemporary American poet. Both poets are able to submerge their imaginations in momentary events; both root their poems in specific places (Israel, the Midwest) and move from the anecdotal to the universal; both use a narrative voice but write lyrics rather than narrative poems; both explore the possibilities of poetry through contexts and placement. They share the capacity to speak directly while retaining an eerie edge to what they say—and unsay. In Wright:

> The carp are secrets
> Of the creation: I do not
> Know if they are lonely.
> The poachers drift with an almost
> frightening
> Care under the bridge.
> ("Lifting Illegal Nets by Flashlight")

> America,
> Plunged into the dark furrows
> Of the sea again.
> ("Stages on a Journey Westward")

In Amichai:

> Jerusalem, the only city in the world
> where the right to vote is granted even
> to the dead.
> ("Jerusalem, 1967")

> Dicky was hit.
> Like the water tower at Yad
> Mordekhai.
> Hit. A hole in the belly. Everything
> came flooding out.
> ("Seven Laments for the War-Dead")

Amichai, longing to be released from the burden of memory at the end of a long incantation in "Songs of Zion the Beautiful," pleads: "Let all of them [the scrolls, the flags, the beasts, the birds] remember so that I can rest." It is our good fortune that he is not likely to be granted his wish. ☐

MUSIC.

EDWARD W. SAID

Die Walküre
Aida
X

While it is true that grand opera is essentially a nineteenth-century form, and that our great opera houses now resemble museums which preserve artifacts by Wagner and Verdi for twentieth-century spectators, it is also a fact that some of the nineteenth-century repertory was already reactionary in its own time, whereas some was musically and theatrically revolutionary. In either case, however, nineteenth-century performances maintained vital contact with the cultural and aesthetic practice of the time: composers like Verdi, Wagner and Puccini were often around to influence what was done to their work, audiences and performers usually understood the language in which the opera was sung, and in the main, a musical idiom was shared by all concerned.

Very little of this obtains today. No real distinctions are made between, say, the repertory performance of a fundamentally conservative work like *Aida* and a revolutionary one like *Die Walküre*. "Four fat people singing interminably and incomprehensibly in the dark," a wag once said of a performance of *Tristan und Isolde* at the Metropolitan Opera. With minor variations, the same can be said of almost any Met performance. No doubt the costly, heavy-handed show is thought to be exactly what the audience wants. Virtually every singer of note who draws crowds at the Met is a kind of freak who sings in an unfamiliar language, exhibits an outdated musical style and is dramatically unconvincing. As for most of the designers and directors, their job seems to be nothing more than putting funny clothes on the singers, and getting them to move around looking serious and urgent.

At the risk of offending many operagoers I shall add that much of the problem today comes from the Italian repertory which, aside from Rossini, who was a genius, is mostly made up of second-rate work. The very prominence of a grotesque like Pavarotti is itself an indictment of the repertory that suits him so well. Such singers have reduced

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opera performance to a minimum of intelligence and a maximum of overpriced noise, in which almost unbelievably low standards of theater combine with equally low standards of musicality and direction. This is an environment inhospitable to ideas or aesthetic conceptions.

Much of what I am saying in so extreme a form is the result of my having seen one extraordinary contemporary opera, Anthony Davis's *X (The Life and Times of Malcolm X)* at the New York City Opera, sandwiched between two exceptionally problematic Met performances—*Die Walküre*, this season's opening-night attraction, and *Aida*. Even if Davis's opera wasn't running concurrently with the two at the Met, I would still have found the Met's relentless avoidance of the interesting and the contemporary exasperating. I am not speaking of the fact that 80 percent of the repertory is usually made up of *La Bohème*, *Tosca*, *Rigoletto*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Norma* and the like. What I am objecting to is the way in which the Met performs and reperforms the nineteenth-century repertory guided by a concept it seems to have borrowed from the opera sequences in 1930s Hollywood films—all the heroes and heroines are pudgy, loud and stupid, the music they sing equally so. Inevitably then the avant-garde work of the nineteenth-century is flattened into a semblance of its conservative counterpart. Even if allowances are made for the narrow range of the repertory, there is little excuse for collapsing the possible effect of those operas into caricature.

Take *Die Walküre*, which although it is the second of the four operas in Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, was chosen to begin the Met's new cycle of the tetralogy. The Met got the services of Hildegarde Behrens, a competent and occasionally fine Brünnhilde; Jeannine Altmeyer, a superbly passionate Sieglinde; and Aage Haugland, a vocally secure but curiously remote—which is perhaps the last thing he should be—Hunding. In addition, the Met's orchestra is now one of the finest ensembles around, certainly a cut above the New York Philharmonic when it comes to accuracy, intonation, refinement and responsiveness. But Wagner requires more than a few good singers and an excellent orchestra, and this is where the Met's aesthetic comes in. Unlike Verdi, whose "naïveté" is celebrated by his devotees, Wagner (to his undying discredit, according to some) was also a philosopher and, above all, a musical and aesthetic pioneer. By 1870, when Verdi was working on *Aida*, Wagner's influence had spread throughout Europe, and it was an influence that, as composers like Verdi acknowledged, inspired opera toward more reflection, sophistication and attention to detail. What irony therefore that the Met's *Walküre* was more influenced by its notion of *Aida* than vice versa.

The *Ring* remains the largest operatic conception ever attempted. It was Wagner's effort to convey a historical/mythic account of the origins of modern culture and, as readers of Nietzsche will remember, was modeled on the great cycles of Attic tragedy. Wagner's musical intelligence was profound and his understanding of the orchestra, the voice and artistic structure brings to a culmination the course of Austro-German music from Bach and Handel through the Viennese classicists, to Beethoven, Schubert and Schumann. Two more things make Wagner exception-

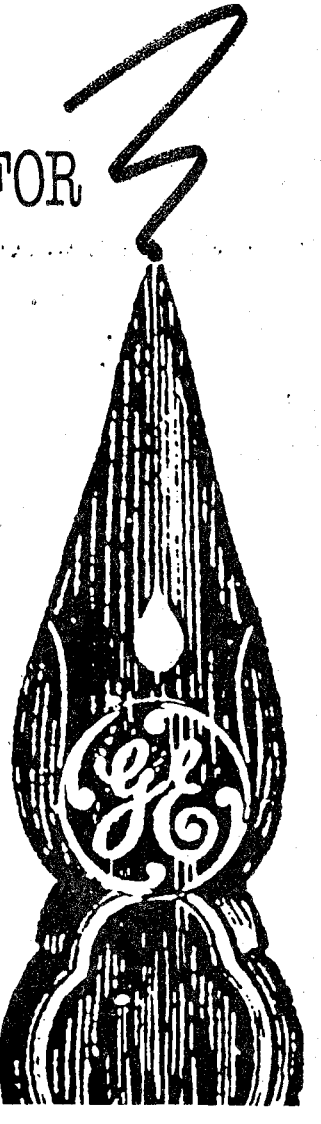
THE COORDINATING COUNCIL OF LITERARY MAGAZINES is pleased to announce the winners of THE 1986 GENERAL ELECTRIC FOUNDATION AWARDS FOR YOUNGER WRITERS

- **Julia Alvárez** for fiction published in **the new renaissance.**
- **Sandra Joy Jackson-Opoku** for fiction published in **Heresies.**
- **Rodney Jones** for poetry published in **River Styx.**
- **Ewa Kuryluk** for a literary essay published in **Formations.**
- **Jim Powell** for poetry published in **The Paris Review.**
- **Eliot Weinberger** for a literary essay published in **Sulfur.**

These awards honor excellence in new writers while recognizing the significant contribution of America's literary magazines.

This year's judges were: **Michael Anania, Thom Gunn, Elizabeth Hardwick, Margo Jefferson** and **Charles Simic.**

For information about The General Electric Foundation Awards for Younger Writers, contact: **CCLM, 666 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. (212) 614-6551**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

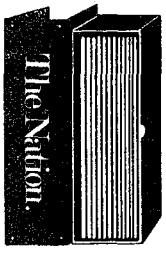
Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305



SAVE THE NATION

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of The Nation.

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N, 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134

I would like ____ cases; ____ binders

Enclosed is my check for $_____. Add $1 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. $2.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15. To charge call toll free 1-800-972-5858.

Name _____

Address _____
(NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 6% sales tax.
Satisfaction guaranteed.

8644

ally challenging to a twentieth-century opera company. One is that no operatic composer has generated more interpretive theories and practices than he, partly because of Bayreuth (which as the center of Wagnerology was designed by Wagner to serve as a point of reference for all work on or about him) and partly because of the musical giants who devoted themselves to his music. It is perhaps more intimidating than illuminating for a young conductor like James Levine leading his first *Walküre* to realize that von Bülow, Nikisch, Strauss, Toscanini, Furtwängler, Knappertsbusch, Solti and Boulez went before him.

The second difficult but rewarding thing about Wagner's work is that his mode was essentially, if not irreducibly, narrative. He is, I believe, most fruitfully compared not with his operatic contemporaries but with Flaubert, James, Mann and Proust (the latter two were mesmerized by him). And his narratives are, like the Nibelung's ring itself, circular, reflective, somberly recapitulatory: each episode alludes to earlier ones, and those in turn confirm and doom the later ones. The density of the musical line is such that in moving forward it also moves backward, downward and across, gathering stress and intensity all the time until by the end of the cycle everything is so locked up, heavy and self-conscious as to collapse under its own weight. Wagner seems to have invented and set Freud's theory of overdetermination to music, using chromaticism and polyphony to such demonic effect as in theory to explode the conscious and rational material holding the tonal world together.

The upshot is that for better or worse, putting on a *Ring* cycle is a formidable undertaking—one which was last attempted with the requisite intelligence by Pierre Boulez and Patrice Chereau at Bayreuth a decade ago. Let us grant that such talents were not available to the Met's *Walküre*; but should the opera therefore be given a directionless and ultimately purposeless production?

The first difficulty is that Levine's musical conception, allied with Otto Schenk's dramatic realization, ignores every postwar advance in Wagnerian performance. There's nothing symbolic, Jungian, Freudian, Marxist or structuralist here—just a "naturalist" presentation, circa 1900, of some Nordic types whose idea of dramatic gesture is an impassioned run from stage center to the door and back to stage center. Peter Hofmann (Siegmund), glorious-looking in abbreviated costume and flowing blond hair, exemplifies this approach in its purest form. (Although he is incapable of anything above a G or A, he does sing decently, using his essentially high baritone voice to considerable advantage in Act I.)

Second, Wagner must be performed with the closest attention to what is going on dramatically. Long stretches of the *Ring* are recitations that advance the narrative and reveal character; for such passages you must have actors and directors who convey the sense that matters of significance are taking place. Act II is a perfect instance. Here Wotan retells the story of his early life, his descent into the earth, his rape of Erda, the birth of Brünnhilde, his compact with Fafner and Fasolt, his contest with Alberich, and now, his search for a device (which will be the hero, Siegfried) for extricating himself from the network of promises and laws in which, as a god, he has become imprisoned. Wotan's narrative is the center of *Walküre*; it dramatizes the cultural and political predicament of a consciousness free to create, unable to free itself of its creation, and yet endlessly in search of a means to get to new and amoral levels of freedom. This is perhaps *the* German statement, in all its horror and exaltation. It can only be performed by a supremely intelligent artist, with a conductor who does not regard the long orchestral silences as empty gulches to be relieved by an occasional plunk of sound. (To listen to the recording of Hans Hotter, one of the greatest twentieth-century Wagnerians, delivering this forty-minute narrative, is to be overwhelmed by his intensity, his craftsmanship, his understanding of the words and score.)

Simon Estes, who sang Wotan at the Met, is a fine light bass who has sung a few non-*Ring* Wagner roles. Wotan, however, is a commanding figure (Hotter was about 6 feet 5 inches, and a great stage presence), but Estes did not command; his smallish voice could get the middle and high notes, but floundered on the lower ones. His narrative did not seem inward enough, and he appeared to have no guiding idea for his singing and acting. To make matters worse, Estes—as well as the other performers—was singing complex, poetical words which no one in the audience

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could possibly understand. The Met has been ridiculously adamant about not using supertitles. Why do audiences stand for this? Would they pay $100 to watch a bad performance of Shakespeare chanted in Esperanto?

Levine's musical direction was, to say the least, streamlined, the orchestra responding sensitively to his warmth in the *Wintersturme* scene, his noisy bravado in the Ride of the Valkyries, his quite poetic expansiveness in the Magic Fire (which provided the puniest lighting display imaginable). But all in all, Levine's conception of the piece was like a rapid sketch for some future performance. The irritating thing about Levine is that he is damnably gifted, and yet prefers somehow to ignore most of the reflective, intellectual dimensions in music that is steeped in thoughtful reflection.

He seems to have shrewdly abandoned the current production of *Aida* to lesser hands. Aside from the redoubtable Grace Bumbry, an Amneris fiery enough to wipe out her slave rival, the by now bathetic and vocally nonexistent Martina Arroyo, this production is an irretrievable loss. Verdi's miscalculations in *Aida*—his overdeveloped score and underdeveloped story, his lifeless attention to an Orientalist Egyptology, his callous disengagement from the place (Cairo) for which the piece was intended—were made plainer and more painful by the Met's alternately strutting and stuttering performance. Why the Egyptian interiors of a triumphant Pharonic court at the height of its powers should be in jagged ruins, friezes and bas reliefs decomposing before you, is left to conjecture.

But all is not lost. There's *X*, with music by Anthony Davis and libretto by Thulani Davis from a story by Christopher Davis. *X* is a riveting work, uncompromising politically, interesting if not always stylistically coherent in its music, splendidly theatrical. The odd thing is that it was put on in these reactionary times. The opera is based on *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, which it follows fairly closely. Divided into three acts of three, four and five scenes respectively, the opera deals with Malcolm's early years, 1931 to 1945, from his father's death in Lansing to his street life in Boston and his sentencing to prison; then in the middle section, from 1946 to 1963, the story proceeds to his conversion to Islam and his discipleship to Elijah Muhammad; finally we are shown Malcolm during his Mecca trip, his separation from Elijah Muhammad and his assassination.

The action abounds in historical allusions: the vogue of Garveyism; the rise of black separatism and the Black Muslims; the Kennedy assassination; pan-Africanism; the murders of Medgar Evers and Patrice Lumumba. Moreover the opera utilizes a large, superbly orchestrated cast to represent different black communities at various levels of consciousness. The overall effect is of an amalgam of epic theater, classical opera and jazz ensemble. And although there is an unresolved tension between Malcolm and the oppressed nation which he alternately leads and represents, I found it a fertile tension. Ben Holt, who plays Malcolm, has in his own manner the self-limiting restraint and the personal force of the very dilemma he represents. In contrast there is the bravura performance of Thomas Young, who plays both Street, a flamboyant street tough, and a preachy, faintly menacing Elijah Muhammad. It's rare to encounter so strong a pair of performances.

Unquestionably *X*'s greatest impact is in the varied and often large ensembles, especially those in the first and third acts; the prison scenes seem to be less strong, as does a good bit of Act II, which is often flatly discursive as if the librettist was trying to get a lot of information about Malcolm's conversion to Islam across before she has him make his notorious remark about "chickens coming home to roost" when John Kennedy was assassinated. The particular strengths of Act III lie in Malcolm's confrontation with Elijah Muhammad and in his second conversion in Mecca. In the latter scene, Davis is remarkably successful in sustaining a long, ritualistic representation of the *fatiha*, the Koranic opening to prayer in the mosque. The dramatic rightness of the two scenes succeeding each other is that Malcolm's coming to consciousness in Islam is synonymous with his liberation from all the bonds of racial exclusivism. Malcolm's solitude and eventual acceptance of Islam's universalism seems to be influenced by Schoenberg's *Moses und Aron*, although the divine anger represented by Schoenberg as being in Moses from God, is displaced almost unilaterally to Malcolm's time in history: "a tide rises at your back and

EVENTS.

RICHARD FALK
discusses
New Social Movements
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 7PM
$15, includes home-cooked dinner!
Brecht Forum
151 W. 19th Street, 7th floor, New York City
Reserve now! (212) 989-6820.

CELEBRACION GRAN CARIBE
Come and celebrate with Ventana an evening of Caribbean music and Central American art.
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6
Art show 6:30pm, performance 8 pm, followed by dance party.
Local 1199 Auditorium,
310 W. 43rd Street near 9th Avenue, New York City
Donation $10, to benefit June Beer House, a cultural center in Managua. For information (212) 569-2574.

Premiere video showing of
RELIABILITY AND RISK: COMPUTERS AND NUCLEAR WAR
Also, "What Is Professional Responsibility," an opinionated overview by Dr. Susan Merritt, Dean of Information Systems, Pace University.
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 7:30 PM
The New School, Swayduck Auditorium
Fifth Avenue and 14th Street, New York City
Admission free.

WHAT'S HAPPENING?
Films on Contemporary Social and Political Issues.
I ♥ $
A highly personal look at economic forces that shape urban life.
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 3 AND 6:30 PM
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street, New York City
Admission is on a pay-what-you-wish basis after 5 pm on Thursday.

Committee for Non-Intervention in Central America
THIRD ANNUAL AWARDS RECEPTION
Honoring
Johnny Colon, Miriam Friedlander, The Sanctuary Movement.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7, 6:30 TO 9 PM
593 Columbus Avenue at 88th Street
New York City
All proceeds go to humanitarian aid for Central America. Wine and hors d'oeuvres. Donation $10. For information and tickets call (212) 362-5606.

Two Talks
SOCIALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS
Ivan Szelenyi, distinguished professor of sociology at CUNY Graduate Center, and **Lynn Turgeon**, professor of economics at Hofstra University.
Discussion to follow presentations
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 7 TO 9:30 PM
CUNY Graduate Center, Room 207
33 West 42nd Street, New York City
Admission free. Sponsored by the Research Group on Socialism and Democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sweeps you in its path." Moreover, Davis explicitly associates Malcolm's self-liberation with freedom fighters from Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, even from South Africa, lending a broader significance to Malcolm's redemptive vision and his sacrificial assassination.

The City Opera's production of *X* shows every sign of having been wonderfully responsive to the Davises' music, story and libretto. The cast is uniformly well-trained and sharp, which may be a measure of how urgently contemporary the opera is. I'm not suggesting that only contemporary political operas are worth doing. But operas do need to be done with some vital conception that informs the whole and with some sense of their own history or their relevance to the history of our time.

Though it may seem a backhanded way of getting at Anthony Davis's music itself, we should note the difficulties of creating a musical idiom for so affectingly contemporary a work as *X*. Christopher Keene conducted the score with dispatch and obvious authority, but I sensed an incompletely achieved musical synthesis of two warring idioms, twelve-tone and jazz. On the other hand, Davis does have a coherent—that is to say accomplished—rhythmic pulse, more lively and topical than aesthetic and reflexive. This makes *X* a spellbinding work. The fact is, however, that Davis's recourse to politics and not, say, to any obvious musical model, as well as his ultimate failure to produce a musical style (as opposed to a dramatic statement of great force), makes itself apparent in the wavering between the rigor of the twelve-tone row and the freedom of the improvisatory jazz flow that characterizes the score of *X*.

X has many external obstacles to overcome, even though it is an authentically important and original work. One is that it is oppositional and not reassuringly conformist: Malcolm himself is not easy going for white opera audiences. Second, it is costly to produce precisely because there isn't yet anything to succeed it. Third, few singers are likely to invest the time necessary to learn such difficult music when the money is in Puccini and Mascagni. Short of having an opera company like the Berliner Ensemble which can inspire better productions, repertory opera houses must be goaded into more adventurous attitudes. By performing *X* they can make a start. □

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS AVAILABLE

SABBATICAL SUBLET: Seeking a quiet, responsible cat/plant lover. Brownstone floor-through in Jersey City, 15 minutes NYC. Low rent, nice neighbors. January to June. Nation Box 205.

BEAUTIFUL, MODERN, SUNNY, 4-room furnished apartment, Upper West Side. Available January through March. Fully equipped. Unusually modest rental to responsible tenant. (212) 663-5507.

APARTMENT SUBLET. Comfortable studio. Couple O.K. Upper East Side. Available December 15, 3 to 4 weeks. $600. Call and leave message (212) 289-9135.

APARTMENTS DESIRED

NATION INTERN needs New York City sublet or share through January. Call Brad (212) 242-8400.

BROTHER/SISTER CAN YOU SPARE a home? Executive director of public interest group, just moved to New York City, seeks studio or 1-bedroom apartment—sublet or rent. Call Jeff Cohen at Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR). (212) 475-4640.

NEW IN TOWN. Quiet, responsible Nation intern seeks moderately priced share or sublet. Temporary housing O.K. Send any information to The Nation, Box EJS, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

BOOKS

ENVIRONMENTAL BANKS keep money clean. Paperback explains. $3. Philip Marden, Highwood-Easton Avenue, Somerset, NJ 08873.

DEADLOCK AT WALLA WALLA. Underground prison expose tells it all. 327 pages. Send $9.95 to: Somerton Press, Box 1746, Somerton, AZ 85350.

SOVIETICUS LITERATUS. Try giving our 3-, 8-, or 12-month "Preferred Selections Plan" to the person of your choice—maybe yourself!—and have them receive monthly shipments of our finest English-language titles in literature, science or politics from the USSR. Plans start at $20; savings up to 40 percent! For details and credit card orders, call toll-free (800) 345-2665 (in Illinois and Arkansas, (312) 787-9017 or write to Imported Publications, 320 W. Ohio Street, Chicago IL 60610. Call now! Ask for our free catalog, too!

THE X-RATED BIBLE reveals all the filth in the Christian Bible. It's a great tool to counter censors. 456 pp. $9 postpaid. American Atheist Press, Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

STILL LOOKING for a book? Free Search. Sperling Books, Box 1766A, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10159.

BOOKSTORES

". . . yours is the best used-book shop in the country—truly!"
—Michael Lowy, author of *The Politics of Combined & Uneven Development* and *The Marxism of Che Guevara.*

When in Los Angeles come by and browse or send for a free mail-order catalogue of selected new titles in theory, literary criticism, history, media, Third World studies and more. **Bookworks,** 3517 Centinela Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90066.

COMPUTERS

LONG-TIME NATION EMPLOYEE, now computer consultant, is selling IBM-compatible computers and providing computer training and support to Nation readers in the New York City area. Special rates for nonprofit organizations and those on low incomes. Call Mark at Present Day Products (718) 934-2861.

COOKING

LOW FAT, LOW CHOLESTEROL, delicious Middle-East recipes for healthy, long life. FREE details. StyleArt, 2126 Fairway, Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319.

HEAVEN MEETS EARTH in your mouth. Needing unusual holiday gifts? Java Sauce® is a ready-to-use, spicy Indonesian peanut sauce. Tastes great on stir-fried vegetables, meats, sandwiches, salads. Recipes included. $1 for sample; $6 for 9.5-ounce jar; $11 for 2 jars, postpaid. Multnomah Supplies, Box 15309 Dept. TN, Portland, OR 97215.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS? Caring, mature psychotherapist will help resolve them. Short-term treatment when possible. Sliding scale. (212) 466-6775.

NEURO-LINGUISTIC PROGRAMMING, an alternative to endless, unproductive, boring psychotherapy. Call David Fitelson, Ph.D. (212) 475-0237.

EXPERIENCED AND PROGRESSIVE psychotherapist, Ph.D. Extensive work with academics and students. Spanish/English. (212) 877-6421.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living and community work. Monthly entry dates.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197. Spaces still available for 8/25 & 9/22 classes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDUCATION

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for 1986 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409-XX, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142

FILMS & VIDEOS

FAMOUS VIDEOTAPE of Nixon's Resignation Speech with pre-broadcast outbursts. VHS. $32. Media Bus, Box 718, Woodstock, NY 12498.

GAMES & PUZZLES

NEW COLLECTION of The Nation's Best Puzzles! Book 5 just printed, British-style crosswords. $5 postpaid to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

COMPETE with friends interpreting dreams. Patented game, $5, Rein Company, 35 Clark Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

GIFTS

NICARAGUA LIBRE
1987 ENGAGEMENT CALENDAR
A 28-page illustrated calendar to use at your desk or on your wall
****
$3.00 each $2.50 each for 10 or more
$2.00 each for 100 or more
Mail orders: add $1.50 postage for 1-5 copies; $2.00 for 6-10 $3.00 for 11-25 $5.00 postage for each 100 copies
ORDER FROM Kathy Casey 337 W. 21st St., Apt. B New York, NY 10011 or call 212-929-2362
All profits go to U.S. work brigades in Nicaragua.

FILMS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE
The 1987 War Resisters League PEACE CALENDAR and Appointment Book

- Introductions by Ruby Dee and Ed Asner
- Over 150 movies with themes of peace and justice • 54 film photos • Lists of distributors and resources • 128 pages, 5½ x 8½ • A page for every week of the year. $8 each, Four for $28. Order from: Donnelly/Colt, Box 188-N, Hampton, CT 06247. 203 455-9621.

GENITALIA POSTER depicts male organs of 12 animals, from man to whale. Scientific but funny. $10: Poster C, Box 1348, New York, NY 10025.

RADICAL RAGS—The Nation T-shirt. Comfortable (100% cotton), sleek (white lettering on red or black T-shirt) and inexpensive ($9.95 each, includes UPS delivery). S,M,L,XL. **If ordering as a gift**, enclose a card and we will send it with T-shirt. Mail to The Nation, Radical Rags, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10011. New York State residents add appropriate sales tax.

HEALTH

DIET ANALYZER. Is your diet safe, effective? Computerized analysis lists specific problems, makes recommendations. Free details. StyleArt, 2126 Fairway, Suite 60, Atlanta, GA 30319.

INSURANCE

RWP/SHAFFER ASSOCIATES
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, technology wanted! Call free 1-800-528-6050. Canada, 1-800-528-6060, ext. 831.

MERCHANDISE

NATION CASES AND BINDERS

Organize and protect your back issues of The Nation. Both cases and binders are covered in an attractive dark red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or binder holds 6 months (1 volume).

Cases $7.95, 3 for $21.95, 6 for $39.95.
Binders $9.95, 3 for $27.95, 6 for $52.95.
Add $1 per unit for postage/handling.

Send order to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept N 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134
Major credit cards accepted for orders over $15.
To charge call 1-800-972-5858
Allow 4 to 6 weeks delivery.
Foreign orders add $2.50/unit. Payment in U.S. currency.
PA residents add 6% sales tax.

OFFICES

GOOD-SIZED OFFICE/WORK SPACE available for progressive organization, filmmaker, graphic artist. Excellent City Hall area location. $625. Call Health/PAC (212) 267-8890.

ORGANIZATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

JOIN THE HARVEST!

Volunteer work brigades leaving for Nicaragua from November–March to help with coffee and cotton harvests. Two- or three-week periods, approximate cost: $700 from Miami or Mexico. Also, special brigades: Third World, Women, Elders and Youth, and Students.

NICARAGUA EXCHANGE
239 CENTRE STREET, NYC, NY 10013
212/219-8620

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS
A Nation box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $5 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

ART LOVERS' EXCHANGE—Unattached fine-arts lovers get acquainted. Nationwide. Write: ALX, Box 265, Bensalem, PA 19020.

DWM, 37, well-preserved, literate, humorous, ethical, seeking fairly nonmaterialistic, intelligent, active, not unattractive woman for friendship; romance, hopefully for rest of lifetime. Chicago area. Nation Box 177.

GM NYC, 43, very bright, goodlooking, politically left, classical-music lover seeks goodlooking man of similar attributes for friendly rendezvous. Photo appreciated. Nation Box 178.

STILL YOUTHFUL widow, activist, professional, Nation-subscriber, Free-thinker; seeking good-humored, non-self-indulging, secure, mature, gentle man over 50 to share conversations, social, cultural, political, human events. Brooklyn. Object: improving our society. Nation Box 166.

LOVELY, LIVELY, MANHATTANITE DWF, 50s. Professional with creative bent, humanistic, witty, romantic, varied cultural, outdoor interests seeks nonsmoking, educated, intelligent, successful, attractive, kind, giving male counterpart 50s to 60s. Nation Box 174.

SW IN HER SIXTIES, slim, energetic, no ethnic/racial barriers, seeks left-wing intellectual man to share interests in arts, countryside, political activism. Write Nation Box 175.

ARTISTICALLY INVOLVING, psychologically resolving, spiritually evolving. Pert, playful, perceptive, SWF, Manhattanite, 48, seeks sensitive, smoking-free, sane swain as accomplice for abundant adventure. Nation Box 168.

SF BAY AREA DWM, 50, professional, healthy, attractive. Seeks woman, any race, intellectual, sense of humor, varied interests in sports, outdoors, things literate, home (partial list). Friendship first. Photo helpful. Box 7681, Berkeley, CA 94707.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

PERSONALS

PROGRESSIVE, ATTRACTIVE, professional SWF, young 37, who is thoughtful, caring and artistic (and lives in Montclair, New Jersey) seeks a sensitive, responsive and intelligent man who is socially conscious and enjoys NYC. Nation Box 179.

GM, 29, NYC, lean, intelligent, sensitive, perceptive, ironic. Hates smoking, otherwise humorous. Loves Henry James, otherwise unpretentious. Wishes to meet compatible man. Nation Box 171.

To place a personal ad complete the classified order form. Discount for Personal ads postmarked by November 30: pay for your ad to run in 2 issues and we will run it a third time free.

If responding to a Nation box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc.,
NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!
Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact:
tecNICA, Dept. N, 2727 College Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94705 415-848-0292

HEALTH AND SAFETY SPECIALIST for labor union; to conduct training programs in occupational safety and health; must have educational background in science and/or relevant labor union experience. Resumes to: Nation Box 207.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR. National nonprofit health-oriented advocacy organization seeks executive director for affiliate coordination, program planning, fundraising and administration. In San Francisco. $20,000 plus, depending on experience. Send resume by December 31 to D.E.S. Action, 2845 24th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

GOVERNMENT JOBS $16,040-$59,230 per year. Now hiring. Call (805) 687-6000 ext. R-3596 for current federal list.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EDITORS, WRITERS, ORGANIZERS, business managers, promotion specialists. Nonprofit research and advocacy organization which publishes a number of magazines, newsletters, books and reports. Founded by Ralph Nader, based in Washington, DC. Salary negotiable. Send resume and references to: Louis Nemeth, Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036.

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIPS! Environmental, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Monthly nationwide listings, $9/6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105N, 1319 18th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

THE GLOBAL CORPORATIST. Restructuring for permanent peace and universal affluence. Box 2025, Gaithersburg, MD 20879.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

WOMEN'S REVIEW OF BOOKS, monthly review of current feminist writing. Subscriptions: $14/U.S., $17/Canada. $25/Institutions. Free sample issue on request. Dept. NA, Women's Review, Wellesley Women's Research Center, Wellesley, MA 02181.

CHESS, STONEHENGE, METAPHYSICS. Astonishing interrelationships. Promote enlightenment. $10: Chess Study, 1226 Haight, San Francisco, CA 94117.

WOMEN'S STUDIES IN WESTERN EUROPE: A RESOURCE GUIDE, includes 80-page directory of bookstores, libraries, etc. $18. ACRL Publications, American Library Association, 50 E. Huron Street, Chicago, IL 60611.

DECENTRALIZE! Nonviolent strategy newsletter. $3 for 4 issues. Sample $1. Box 106A, 632 Cloverdale, Los Angeles, CA 90036.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $1 per word, 15-word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $45 per column inch.

Deadline: Wednesday, 17 days prior to Saturday issue date.

Discounts: Pay for 3 runs, get 1 more free. Pay for 7 runs, 3 more free. Pay for 15 runs, 10 more free.

To: THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for ____ weeks, plus ____ weeks free.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment must accompany order. **Payment in U.S. currency.**

PUBLICATIONS

COPIES OF THE HISTORIC 120th anniversary issue of The Nation are available from the New York office. The cost is $4 each, $2.50 each for 10 or more (postpaid). Send order to: The Nation, Attn: Anniversary Issue, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES FROM $1. (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for current repo list.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTITIOUS—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064.

RENTALS

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO. Furnished house with phone. Photos available. $450. Oscar Valencia. Whittier College, Box 8607, Whittier, CA 90608. (213) 693-3918.

MEXICO. Writer's village house, a-half-hour from Cuernavaca. Mangos, bougainvillea, telephone. $650 per month. (212) 684-1520.

SUMMER CAMPS

Happiness is a FARM & WILDERNESS SUMMER CAMP

IN VERMONT

- Six camps (even one for parents)
- Boys, girls & coed ages 9-17
- Safe, rugged adventure: hiking, canoeing, organic gardens, animals, sailing & more
- 4 & 8 week sessions
- Down-to-earth skills

Multi-racial Quaker camps since 1939

For information write or call:
Helen H. Richards
Farm & Wilderness Camps
Plymouth, VT 05056 (802) 422-3761

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. Next departure January 16. Information: Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

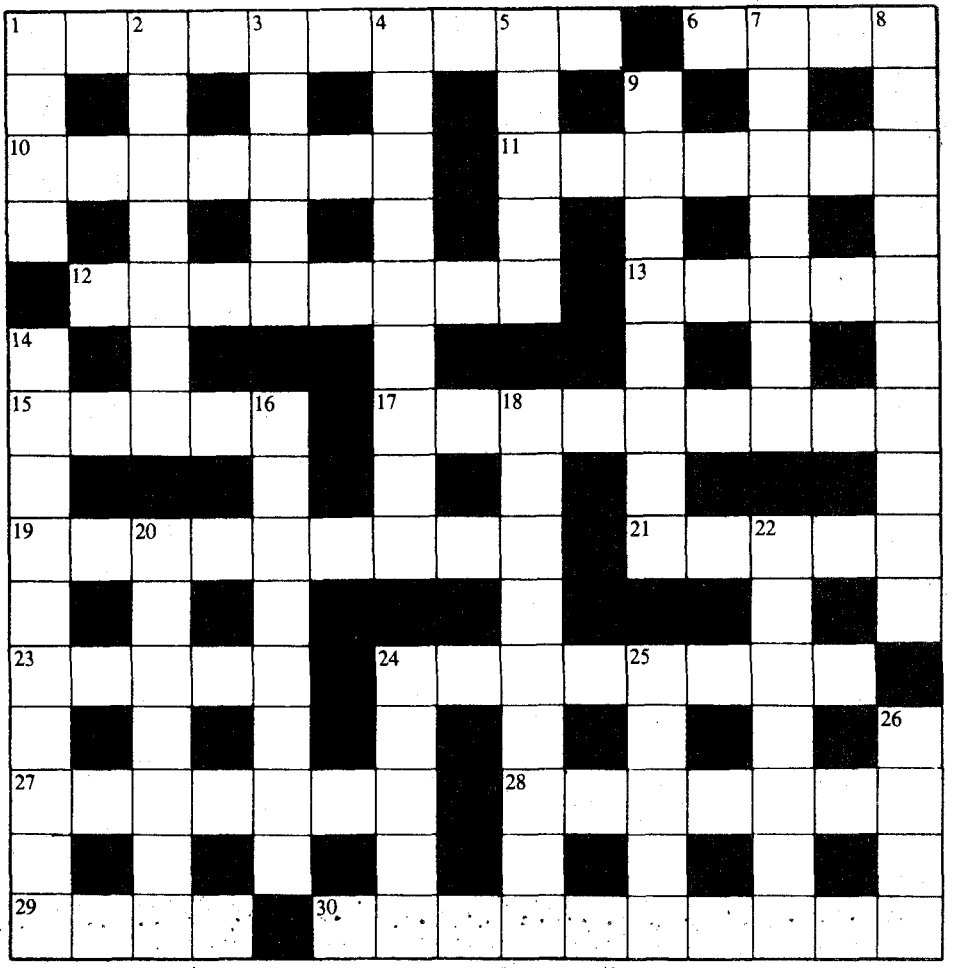
OVERSEAS OPPORTUNITIES Employment, living, study, independent travel: bimonthly resource guide. Ten-year index $1. Abroad, Box 344, NA-2, Amherst, MA 01004.

ROAM THE WORLD BY FREIGHTER, facts, destinations, recommendations on unusual cruising. TravLtips, Box 188U7A, Flushing, NY 11358.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2128

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Correct uniform for a soldier? It might turn his head. (5,5)
6 On picket duty one might not like to see such a sore spot. (4)
10 Drop a line, they might say, around a place to stay if like Sibelius. (7)
11 A rather vulgar man—a slippery one—but still well bred. (7)
12 Took advantage of vehicular transportation —lots have them at times. (4,4)
13 Sixteen and a half feet between two points? Wear this! (5)
15 In India, like your Uncle. (5)
17 Gable, for example, has meals provided, being on the right side . . . (9)
19 . . . while this is left with a bit of paper in the office of a minister of state. (9)
21 Artist of the French "essence," in translation. (5)
23 Is this why an old "explosive" man had to knock? (5)
24 The husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the two of them seem to be healthy! (8)
27 All tear around when this is thrown on the field. (7)
28 Supplied with O as a symbol. (7)
29 Makes a showing of the band inside. (4)
30 Something related to a carrot will come to the old sailor in good season. (6,4)

DOWN

1 Widespread fire-break. (4)
2 It begins in the beginning. (7)
3 In position, short on one side, although a so-called Crookback Richard was this. (5)
4 It almost always takes place before showtime. (9)
5 Puts down one's name? (Leo is one of them.) (5)
7 You might find romance where violins came from. (7)
8 A less hirsute élan? That's a lot of nonsense! (10)
9 One would hardly deserve a resulting slam if one does it. (8)
14 They often put in a ringer to play at such places. (10)
16 In autos, they're not really associated with the choke—nor do they necessarily keep people quiet in cold weather. (8)
18 It takes a turn in the army to show how gas masks might be worn. (5,4)
20 Southern soldiers dined inside, obviously, but one sometimes expects such in buying things. (7)
22 Looks like a holiday afternoon party for Pygmalion's friend! (7)
24 This battle was not really fought by dieters. (5)
25 Wrestle with a problem, or it gets surrounded by the ironically humorous. (5)
26 What William Allen White did in bringing up the season. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2127

C	O	U	N	T	E	R	S	■	M	A	R	C	E	L
H	■	N	■	R	■	U	■	A	■	N	■	A	■	A
A	L	I	B	I	■	N	I	C	K	N	A	M	E	D
N	■	O	■	F	■	N	■	A	■	E	■	E	■	Y
C	O	N	S	O	L	E	■	C	O	X	C	O	M	B
E	■	J	■	I	■	R	■	I	■	E	■	■	■	I
■	V	A	U	L	T	S	■	A	N	D	O	V	E	R
G	■	C	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	E	■	D
A	S	K	A	N	C	E	■	P	A	N	T	R	Y	■
S	■	■	■	A	■	L	■	I	■	O	■	Y	■	S
M	A	H	A	T	M	A	■	C	A	M	E	L	O	T
E	■	E	■	U	■	P	■	A	■	A	■	I	■	A
T	H	E	O	R	I	S	T	S	■	D	I	G	I	T
E	■	L	■	A	■	E	■	S	■	I	■	H	■	E
R	E	S	U	L	T	■	B	O	Y	C	O	T	T	S

T-SHIRTS

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT
First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
DEPT. 10
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920
SPECIAL 2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL
Visa & MC

HANG ON HOOK UP
QUALITY T-SHIRTS
Designs for our times that say it up front!
Hand screened
Non-toxic water base inks
Heavyweight Cotton
Write for Free Brochure!
HANG ON-HOOK UP
Box 2869 dept.n-PETALUMA, CA.94953-2869

SAY NO TO NANCY
100% white cotton T-shirt features headline and black cartoon with red cross-circle.
Send $8 and size to:
D.R. Atlas
P.O. Box 1942-Dept. N
Mt. Auburn St.
Cambridge, MA 02238

The Nation T-shirt is a fashionable way to make a statement. Black or Red T-shirt, both with white lettering, all cotton. S,M,L and XL. $9.95 each (includes postage). If ordering as a gift, enclose a card and we will send it along. Mail check or money order to The Nation Fashion Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax.)

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA NEW YORK X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Sound of Great Ideas!®

The actual voices of... Robert Frost • Idries Shah • Gilbert Highet • Noam Chomsky • Erich Fromm • Alistair Cooke • Stephen Spender • George W. Kisker • Bruno Bettelheim • Robert Heilbroner . . . and many others.

HEAR what these provocative thinkers have to say about self-discovery, the quality of life, dreams and dreaming, Zen, behaviorism, changes taking place in the world of psychology, and what you can do to bring about the change.

There's a difference in **hearing** new ideas rather than simply reading them. The author is able to provide his or her unique emphases in ways impossible to accomplish in print. Pauses and tonal changes become meaning and create insights and increased understanding.

And audio cassettes provide a medium for learning experiences that can be shared simultaneously with someone else, thus encouraging immediate discussion and interaction.

Today's audio cassettes capture the inflections, nuances and flavor of the original speaker, and let you hear them over and over while driving, cooking, jogging, etc. Since some of these voices will never be heard again, here's your opportunity to savor the sound of great ideas that have shaped today's world, and to own these cassettes for your library.

From the more than 3,000 titles in the prestigious Audio-Forum Library, we have selected 26 extraordinary recordings. Imagine hearing these dynamic personalities in the intimacy of your own home! The regular price per cassette is $13.95. **But now for the special price of $9.95 you have the opportunity to listen whenever and wherever you choose. PLUS for every 3 cassettes you buy, we'll send you a cassette of your choice FREE!**

"The Sound of Great Ideas" from **Audio-Forum**, Room 932, Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794.

The 26 audio cassettes listed here were chosen by a panel of experts who were asked to select only tapes which would be timely and relevant. Each has passed the simple test of genuine interest: "Would you want to listen to this tape again?"

HEAR these famous speakers:

- (A) **Alistair Cooke:** *America: An Outside View* (55 min.)
- (B) **Joachim Fest:** *Hitler: A Personal View* (55 min.)
- (C) **Edwin Newman:** *Decline and Fall of American Language* (55 min.)
- (D) **A. Szent-Gyorgyi:** *Misplaced Ideas on Democracy* (25 min.)
- (E) **Salvador DeMadariaga:** *The Myth of Disarmament* (24 min.)
- (F) **George W. Kisker:** *Programmed Relaxation* (25 min.)
- (G) **Asimov & Pohl:** *Science Fiction: The Early Days* (55 min.)
- (H) **Sir Edmund Hillary:** *Nothing Venture, Nothing Win* (55 min.)
- (I) **Ivan Illich:** *The Deschooled Society* (33 min.)
- (J) **Indra Devi:** *Beginning Yoga* (50 min.)
- (K) **Alan Paton:** *On Apartheid* (37 min.)
- (L) **Noam Chomsky:** *Government in the Future* (57 min.)
- (M) **Otto Bettman:** *The Good Old Days: They Were Terrible* (55 min.)
- (N) **Idries Shah:** *Framework for New Knowledge* (44 min.)
- (O) **James V. McConnell:** *Biochemistry and Behavior* (53 min.)
- (P) **Michael DeBakey:** *Medical View of Value of Human Life* (18 min.)
- (Q) **Rudolf Ekstein:** *Psychoanalytic View of Marriage* (55 min.)
- (R) **Robert Heilbroner:** *Business Civilization in Decline* (55 min.)
- (S) **General Douglas MacArthur:** *Old Soldiers Never Die* (35 min.)
- (T) **Gilbert Highet:** *The Art of Invective/A Bouquet of Poison Ivy* (30 min.)
- (U) **Thor Heyerdahl:** *Waters of the World* (58 min.)
- (V) **Erich Fromm:** *To Have or to Be: The Nature of the Psyche* (56 min.)
- (W) **Robert Frost:** *An Evening with Robert Frost* (55 min.)
- (X) **Stephen Spender:** *T.S. Eliot and George Orwell* (41 min.)
- (Y) **William Manchester:** *The Glory and the Dream* (55 min.)
- (Z) **Bruno Bettelheim:** *Man's Identity in a Mass Society* (48 min.)

I understand that for every 3 cassettes I order, I will get one FREE!

Please send me the following selections at $9.95 each plus 50¢ shipping charge per tape. (CT residents add sales tax.)
For every 3 tapes paid for, I have selected a free one.

My selections: ◯◯◯ ◯◯◯

My free selection: ◯ ◯

☐ I am enclosing $1 for your Audio Catalog.

☐ Here is my cassette order; please send Audio Catalog free.

NAME (Print)

ADDRESS . APT #

CITY, STATE, ZIP

SIGNATURE

Total amount of order: $_____
(Including tax and shipping.)

☐ Check enclosed ☐ American Express
☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA
☐ Diners Club Expiration Date: _____

Card # _____

MAIL TO: **AUDIO-FORUM®**
Room 932, On-The-Green, Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794

ETS LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED